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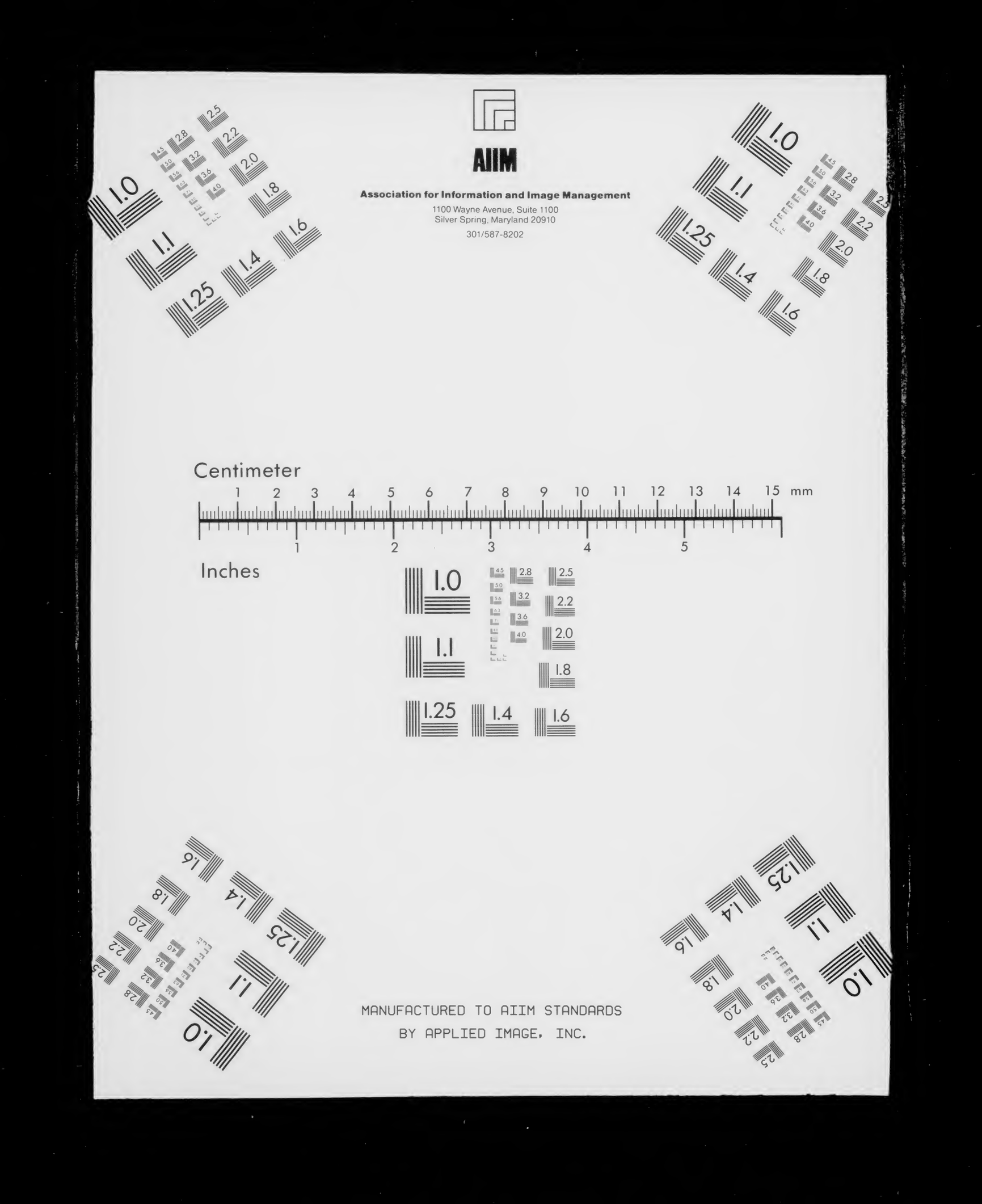
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TWO SATIRES OF JUVENAL

WITH NOTES

BY

FRANCIS PHILIP NASH, M. A.
PROFESSOR OF THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
IN HOBART COLLEGE

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
The Riverside Press, Cambridge
1892

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TO

PROFESSOR BENNETT HUBBARD NASH, A. M.,

OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY, THIS LITTLE BOOK

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

BY THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

In presenting to the reader of Juvenal a separate edition of two satires, I feel that, even after the example lately given by Professor Hild in the separate publication of the seventh satire, it may be expected of me that I should give some reason for adding another to the commentaries on this much-commented author, and also for venturing to divide his works.

As to the first point, I can only express my confident hope that the commentary, whatever its shortcomings may be, will at least be found to contain sufficient new matter to justify its existence. With regard to the division of the works, I would remind the reader that the satires of Juvenal are independent poems, and, with the exception of the first, which may be regarded as an introduction to the rest, have no more connection one with another than what springs from identity of authorship and age. In fact, the relation between certain satires of Juvenal and certain satires of Persius and of Horace is, in some aspects, closer

than any which exists among themselves. In these circumstances, I have thought it not improper to issue separately these two satires, with their commentary, partly as a specimen of a larger work, and partly with intent to offer to those who love the Roman classics a handy volume which might interest them without threatening to absorb too much of their leisure.

While this little book does not address itself to college students, I have nevertheless thought that it might be advantageously used to introduce university classes to the ways and processes of higher critical study, and especially to the field of archæological investigation. It has, at least, been my own practice, with advanced students, to go over in an exhaustive manner a small portion of all the authors used, while only giving to other parts of their works such attention as might be necessary to the understanding of them.

But, I repeat, it is not for the college student that this book was written, but for those lovers of the classics who are not offended when a commentator, too full of his subject, introduces one more citation than is strictly necessary, or allows himself a digression on some interesting word or passage. I know that each one of my readers will

find in these notes much that to him is quite superfluous: but the best scholars have not always all their store of accumulated knowledge at immediate command; and, while one reader needs to be reminded of one thing, another has forgotten something else: it is right that each should find what he wants, even though accompanied by other things which he does not need.

In conclusion, I desire to express my profound sense of obligation to my predecessors in the task of elucidating the works of the greatest of Roman satirists. I have used all reasonable endeavors to give to every one of those who have gone before, as well to the older commentators as to those who are still adding by their industry to our knowledge of this author, the fullest credit for all that I have borrowed from them. I have not intentionally taken anything original from them without acknowledgment; and I shall be very glad to make restitution if I have taken aught unwittingly.

FRANCIS PHILIP NASH.

Hobart College, *July*, 1892.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF THE NAMES OF COMMENTATORS, CODICES, ETC.

B., Brit. Britannicus.
C. Curio, S. C.
F. Farnabius.
G. Grangaeus.
H. Heinrich.
Hn. Hermann.
J. Jahn.
L. Lubinus.
Lw. Lewis.
M. Mayor.
Macl. Macleane.
Mg. Madvig.
P. The Codex Pithoeanus (Montepessulanus 125).
p. *codicis Pithoeani secunda manus.*
P. & S. Pearson & Strong.
R. Ruperti.
Rk. Ribbeck.
S. Salmasius.
s, in footnote to text. *scholiorum lectio.*
Sc. Scaliger.
Si. Simcox.
Σ. *lectio e scholiorum interpretatione ducta.*
s. *codicum reliquorum pars.*
V. S. The Ancient Scholiast.
ω. *codices reliqui aut multi.*

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D. IUNII IUVENALIS SATURARUM

LIBER PRIMUS

SATURA I

Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam,
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
impune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos? impune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo nec dum finitus Orestes?
nota magis nulli domus est sua, quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani. quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmŏra clamant
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae:
exspectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret; stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.
cur tamen hoc potius libeat decurrere campo,

per quem magnus equos Auruncae flexit alumnus,
si vacat ac placidi rationem admittitis, edam.
Cum tener uxorem ducat spado, Mevia Tuscum
figat aprum et nuda teneat venabula mamma;
patricios omnis opibus cum provocet unus,
quo tondente gravis iuveni mihi barba sonabat;
cum pars Niliacae plebis, cum verna Canopi
Crispinus Tyrias umero revocante lacernas
ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum
nec sufferre queat maioris pondera gemmae,
difficile est saturam non scribere. nam quis iniquae
tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat se,
causidici nova cum veniat lectica Mathonis
plena ipso; post hunc magni delator amici
et cito rapturus de nobilitate comesa
quod superest, quem Massa timet, quem munere palpat
Carus et a trepido Thymele summissa Latino?
cum te summoveant qui testamenta merentur
noctibus, in caelum quos evehit optima summi
nunc via processus, vetulae vesica beatae?
unciolam Proculeius habet, sed Gillo deuncem,
partes quisque suas ad mensuram inguinis heres.
accipiat sane mercedem sanguinis et sic
palleat, ut nudis pressit qui calcibus anguem,
aut Lugdunensem rhetor dicturus ad aram.
quid referam, quanta siccum iecur ardeat ira,
cum populum gregibus comitum premit hic spoliator
pupilli prostantis, et hic damnatus inani
iudicio — quid enim salvis infamia nummis? —

21 placat *P*

exul ab octava Marius bibit et fruitur dis
iratis, at tu victrix provincia ploras?
haec ego non credam Venusina digna lucerna?
haec ego non agitem? sed quid magis? Heracleas
aut Diomedeas aut mugitum labyrinthi
et mare percussum puero fabrumque volantem?
cum leno accipiat moechi bona, si capiendi
ius nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
doctus et ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso;
cum fas esse putet curam sperare cohortis
qui bona donavit praesepibus et caret omni
maiorum censu, dum pervolat axe citato
Flaminiam puer Automedon, nam lora tenebat
ipse, lacernatae cum se iactaret amicae;
nonne libet medio ceras implere capaces
quadrivio, cum iam sexta cervice feratur,
hinc atque inde patens ac nuda paene cathedra
et multum referens de Maecenate supino
signator falso, qui se lautum atque beatum
exiguis tabulis et gemma fecerat uda?
occurrit matrona potens, quae molle Calenum
porrectura viro miscet sitiente rubetam,
instituitque rudes melior Lucusta propinquas
per famam et populum nigros efferre maritos.
aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum,
si vis esse aliquis. probitas laudatur et alget,
criminibus debent hortos praetoria mensas
argentum vetus et stantem extra pocula caprum.

55 st * capiendi *P* | 67 signato falso *Madvigius opp. I p.* 40 | 74 aliquid *P*

quem patitur dormire nurus corruptor avarae,
quem sponsae turpes et praetextatus adulter?
si natura negat, facit indignatio versum,
qualemcunque potest, quales ego vel Cluvienus.
Ex quo Deucalion nimbis tollentibus aequor
navigio montem ascendit sortesque poposcit,
paulatimque anima caluerunt mollia saxa
et maribus nudas ostendit Pyrra puellas,
quidquid agunt homines, votum timor ira voluptas
gaudia discursus nostri farrago libelli est.
et quando uberior vitiorum copia? quando
maior avaritiae patuit sinus? alea quando
hos animos? neque enim loculis comitantibus itur
ad casum tabulae, posita sed luditur arca.
proelia quanta illic dispensatore videbis
armigero! simplexne furor sestertia centum
perdere et horrenti tunicam non reddere servo?
quis totidem erexit villas, quis fercula septem
secreto cenavit avus? nunc sportula primo
limine parva sedet, turbae rapienda togatae.
ille tamen faciem prius inspicit et trepidat, ne
suppositus venias ac falso nomine poscas:
agnitus accipies. iubet a praecone vocari
ipsos Troiugenas 'nam vexant limen et ipsi
nobiscum.' 'Da praetori, da deinde tribuno.'
sed libertinus prior est. 'Prior' inquit 'ego adsum.
cur timeam dubitemve locum defendere, quamvis
natus ad Euphraten, molles quod in aure fenestrae
arguerint, licet ipse negem? sed quinque tabernae

85 timor *om.* *P* | 102 inquit et ego *P*

quadringenta parant. quid confert purpura maior
optandum, si Laurenti custodit in agro
conductas Corvinus oves, ego possideo plus
Pallante et Licinis?' exspectent ergo tribuni,
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori,
nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis,
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas; etsi funesta pecunia templo
nondum habitas, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
ut colitur Pax atque Fides Victoria Virtus
quaeque salutato crepitat Concordia nido.
sed cum summus honor finito computet anno,
sportula quid referat, quantum rationibus addat,
quid facient comites, quibus hinc toga, calceus hinc
est
et panis fumusque domi? densissima centum
quadrantes lectica petit, sequiturque maritum
languida vel praegnas et circumducitur uxor.
hic petit absenti nota iam callidus arte,
ostendens vacuam et clausam pro coniuge sellam.
'Galla mea est.' inquit 'citius dimitte. moraris' —
"profer Galla caput!" — 'noli vexare, quiescet.'
Ipse dies pulchro distinguitur ordine rerum:
sportula, deinde forum iurisque peritus Apollo
atque triumphales, inter quas ausus habere
nescio quis titulos AEGYPTIUS ATQUE ARABARCHES,
cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae

106 purpurae *P* | 131 me*gere *P*

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cuius ad effigiem non tantum meiere fas est.
vestibulis abeunt veteres lassique clientes
votaque deponunt, quamquam longissima cenae

106 purpurae *P* | 131 me*gere *P*

spes homini : caulis miseris atque ignis emendus.
optima silvarum interea pelagique vorabit
rex horum vacuisque toris tantum ipse iacebit.
nam de tot pulchris et latis orbibus et tam
antiquis una comedunt patrimonia mensa.
nullus iam parasitus erit. sed quis ferat istas
luxuriae sordes ? quanta est gula, quae sibi totos
ponit apros, animal propter convivia natum !
poena tamen praesens, cum tu deponis amictus
turgidus et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.
hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus,
et nova nec tristis per cunctas fabula cenas
ducitur iratis plaudendum funus amicis.

Nil erit ulterius, quod nostris moribus addat
posteritas, eadem facient cupientque minores,
omne in praecipiti vitium stetit : utere velis,
totos pande sinus. dicas hic forsitan ' Unde
ingenium par materiae ? unde illa priorum
scribendi quodcumque animo flagrante liberet
simplicitas cuius non audeo dicere nomen ?
quid refert dictis ignoscat Mucius an non ? '
pone Tigellinum : taeda lucebis in illa,
qua stantes ardent, qui fixo pectore fumant,
et latum media sulcum deducis harena.
Qui dedit ergo tribus patruis aconita, vehatur
pensilibus plumis atque illinc despiciet nos ?
Cum veniet contra, digito compesce labellum :
accusator erit qui verbum dixerit *hic est*.

143 crudus *P* | 150 dic*s *P* dicas *p* | 157 deduci*s *P* | 161 ver*m *P* verum *p*

securus licet Aenean Rutulumque ferocem
committas, nulli gravis est percussus Achilles
aut multum quaesitus Hylas urnamque secutus.
ense velut stricto quotiens Lucilius ardens
infremuit, rubet auditor, cui frigida mens est
criminibus, tacita sudant praecordia culpa :
inde irae et lacrimae. tecum prius ergo voluta
haec anime ante tubas ; galeatum sero duelli
paenitet. Experiar, quid concedatur in illos,
quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina.

SATURA II

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet et glacialem
Oceanum, quotiens aliquid de moribus audent
qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.
indocti primum, quamquam plena omnia gypso
Chrysippi invenias ; nam perfectissimus horum est,
si quis Aristotelen similem vel Pittacon emit,
et iubet archetypos pluteum servare Cleanthas.
frontis nulla fides ; quis enim non vicus abundat
tristibus obscenis ? castigas turpia, cum sis
inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinaedos.
hispida membra quidem et durae per brachia setae
promittunt atrocem animum, sed podice levi
caeduntur tumidae medico ridente mariscae.
rarus sermo illis et magna libido tacendi

169 animante tuba *P* animeante tubas *Valla* | 170 qui *P*
7 cl*anthas *P* cloanthas *pω*

atque supercilio brevior coma. verius ergo
et magis ingenue Peribomius. hunc ego fatis
inputo, qui vultu morbum incessuque fatetur.
horum simplicitas miserabilis, his furor ipse
dat veniam; sed peiores, qui talia verbis
Herculis invadunt et de virtute locuti
clunem agitant. 'Ego te ceventem, Sexte, verebor?'
infamis Varillus ait 'quo deterior te?
loripedem rectus derideat, Aethiopem albus:
quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?
quis caelum terris non misceat et mare caelo,
si fur displiceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius accuset moechos, Catilina Cethegum,
in tabulam Sullae si dicant discipuli tres?'
qualis erat nuper tragico pollutus adulter
concubitu, qui tunc leges revocabat amaras,
omnibus atque ipsi Veneri Martique timendas,
cum tot abortivis fecundam Iulia vulvam
solveret et patruo similes effunderet offas.
nonne igitur iure ac merito vitia ultima fictos
contemnunt Scauros et castigata remordent?

Non tulit ex illis torvum Laronia quendam
clamantem totiens 'Ubi nunc lex Iulia? dormis?'
atque ita subridens 'Felicia tempora, quae te
moribus opponunt! habeat iam Roma pudorem:
tertius e caelo cecidit Cato! sed tamen unde
haec emis, hirsuto spirant opobalsama collo
quae tibi? ne pudeat dominum monstrare tabernae.

16 peribomus *P* | 17 vultum *P* | 30 revocabat *Pithoeus:* revoca*at *P* revocarat *pω* | 31 ipsis *ω* | 38 ad quem *s*

quod si vexantur leges ac iura, citari
ante omnes debet Scantinia. respice primum
et scrutare viros. faciunt hi plura, sed illos
defendit numerus iunctaeque umbone phalanges:
magna inter molles concordia. non erit ullum
exemplum in nostro tam detestabile sexu.
Vedia non lambit Cluviam nec Flora Catullam:
Hispo subit iuvenes et morbo pallet utroque.
numquid nos agimus causas, civilia iura
novimus, aut ullo strepitu fora vestra movemus?
luctantur paucae, comedunt colyphia paucae:
vos lanam trahitis calathisque peracta refertis
vellera, vos tenui praegnatem stamine fusum
Penelope melius, levius torquetis Arachne,
horrida quale facit residens in codice paelex.
notum est, cur solo tabulas impleverit Hister
liberto, dederit vivus cur multa puellae.
dives erit, magno quae dormit tertia lecto:
tu nube atque tace, donant arcana cylindros.
de nobis post haec tristis sententia fertur?
dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.'

Fugerunt trepidi vera ac manifesta canentem
stoicidae; quid enim falsi Laronia? sed quid
non facient alii, cum tu multicia sumas,
Cretice, et hanc vestem populo mirante perores
in Proculas et Pollittas? est moecha Fabulla,
damnetur, si vis, etiam Carfinia: talem
non sumet damnata togam. 'Sed Iulius ardet,

43 at iure *scripsi:* ac iure *S* ac iura *Pω* | 49 Vedia *Hermannus:* media *PS* tedia *ω* | 50 Hispo *pω:* hippo *S* hi*po *P*

aestuo.' Nudus agas: minus est insania turpis.
en habitum, quo te leges ac iura ferentem
vulneribus crudis populus modo victor et illud
montanum positis audiret vulgus aratris.
quid? non proclames, in corpore iudicis ista
si videas? quaero, an deceant multicia testem?
acer et indomitus libertatisque magister,
Cretice, perluces! dedit hanc contagio labem
et dabit in plures; sicut grex totus in agris
unius scabie cadit et porrigine porci,
uvaque conspecta livorem ducit ab uva.
foedius hoc aliquid quandoque audebis amictu:
nemo repente fuit turpissimus. accipient te
paulatim, qui longa domi redimicula sumunt
frontibus et toto posuere monilia collo,
atque bonam tenerae placant abdomine porcae
et magno cratere deam. sed more sinistro
exagitata procul non intrat femina limen,
solis ara deae maribus patet. 'Ite profanae!'
clamatur 'nullo gemit hic tibicina cornu.'
talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda
Cecropiam soliti Baptae lassare Cotytto.
ille supercilium madida fuligine tactum
obliqua producit acu pingitque trementis
attollens oculos, vitreo bibit ille priapo,
reticulumque comis auratum ingentibus implet,
caerulea indutus scutulata aut galbina rasa,
et per Iunonem domini iurante ministro.

71 infamia sΣ | 76 deceat *P* | 80 pr*rigine *P* | 82 audebit *P* | 92 Cotyton *PS* | 98 *en* Ribbeckius

ille tenet speculum, pathici gestamen Othonis,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quo se ille videbat
armatum, cum iam tolli vexilla iuberet.
res memoranda novis annalibus atque recenti
historia, speculum civilis sarcina belli:
nimirum summi ducis est occidere Galbam
et curare cutem, summi constantia civis
Bebriaci campo spolium affectare Palati
et pressum in faciem digitis extendere panem,
quod nec in Assyrio pharetrata Semiramis orbe,
maesta nec Actiaca fecit Cleopatra carina.
hic nullus verbis pudor aut reverentia mensae;
hic turpis Cybeles et fracta voce loquendi
libertas et crine senex fanaticus albo
sacrorum antistes, rarum ac memorabile magni
gutturis exemplum conducendusque magister.
quid tamen exspectant, Phrygio quos tempus erat iam
more supervacuam cultris abrumpere carnem?
quadringenta dedit Gracchus sestertia dotem
cornicini, sive hic recto cantaverat aere,
signatae tabulae, dictum *feliciter!* ingens
cena sedet, gremio iacuit nova nupta mariti.
o proceres! censore opus est an haruspice nobis?
scilicet horreres maioraque monstra putares,
si mulier vitulum vel si bos ederet agnum?
segmenta et longos habitus et flammea sumit,
arcano qui sacra ferens nutantia loro
sudavit clipeis ancilibus. o pater urbis,

108 Sameramis *PS*

unde nefas tantum Latiis pastoribus? unde
haec tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes?
traditur ecce viro clarus genere atque opibus vir:
nec galeam quassas, nec terram cuspide pulsas,
nec quereris patri? vade ergo et cede severi
iugeribus campi, quem neglegis! 'Officium eras
primo sole mihi peragendum in valle Quirini.'
"quae causa officii?" 'Quid quaeris? nubit amicus
nec multos adhibet.' liceat modo vivere: fient,
fient ista palam, cupient et in acta referri.
interea tormentum ingens nubentibus haeret,
quod nequeant parere et partu retinere maritos.
sed melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris
natura indulget: steriles moriuntur, et illis
turgida non prodest condita pyxide Lyde,
nec prodest agili palmas praebere luperco.
vicit et hoc monstrum tunicati fusciua Gracchi,
lustravitque fuga mediam gladiator harenam
et Capitolinis generosior [et Marcellis
et Catuli Paulique minoribus] et Fabiis et
omnibus ad podium spectantibus, his licet ipsum
admoveas, cuius tunc munere retia misit.

Esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna
Cocytum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras,
atque una transire vadum tot milia cumba,
nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur.
sed tu vera puta. Curius quid sentit et ambo
Scipiadae, quid Fabricius manesque Camilli,

133 in valle colle Quirini *S* | 140 morientur *ω* | 150 Cocytum *Liutprand antap. V, 8:* * * * *tum *P* et pontum *S* et contum *Pω*

quid Cremerae legio et Cannis consumpta iuventus,
tot bellorum animae, quotiens hinc talis ad illos
umbra venit? cuperent lustrari, si qua darentur
sulpura cum taedis, et si foret umida laurus
illic. heu, miseri traducimur! arma quidem ultra
litora Iubernae promovimus et modo captas
Orcadas ac minima contentos nocte Britannos;
sed quae nunc populi fiunt victoris in urbe,
non faciunt illi, quos vicimus. et tamen unus
Armenius Zalaces cunctis narratur ephebis
mollior ardenti sese indulsisse tribuno.
aspice, quid faciant commercia: venerat obses;
hic fiunt homines. nam si mora longior urbem
indulsit pueris non umquam derit amator;
mittentur bracae cultelli frena flagellum:
sic praetextatos referunt Artaxata mores.

160 * * * * * *P* iuuernae *p*

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE I

I agree with Heinrich, who holds that this satire was intended as an introduction to Juvenal's collected satires. Although it should be remembered that the very nature of the Roman Satura was that it should be a medley, and while not forgetting that some of the satires of Horace show a similar want of unity, the extremely desultory style of this work and the evident want of natural connection between some of its parts are best accounted for on the theory that the satire was intended as an index or *résumé* of those vices which are discussed more distinctly, more continuously, and more in detail in the succeeding satires. There are those, indeed, who hold that it is not one, but two prefaces welded together, a portion of the present poem having been used as an introduction to an earlier and smaller collection than we possess. But I incline to doubt this position, the rather that I have reached a fixed conviction that Juvenal was much in the habit of keeping poetic memoranda, written at various times under the fresh and recent impression of passing events, which he afterward combined, according to their subjects, into separate satires, or even added to poems already written;

so that this particular satire is really not much more disjointed than some others, as, e. g., Sat. ii. at verse 143, Sat. iv. at verse 37, etc. On the whole, I regard the general character of this first satire as the best internal evidence that such a collection of satires, probably already known from private reading in literary circles, was put forth by Juvenal himself soon enough after the trial of Marius Priscus (verse 49), in A. D. 100, to make an allusion to his case effective. This allusion, for the reasons above stated, by no means proves, as Macleane assumes, that the whole satire was written after that date. Thus, I believe that the passage describing Crispinus was written before Sat. iv., the date of which I place not much later than the death of Domitian, — say between 96 and 98, — since in that satire Juvenal speaks of once more bringing Crispinus on the scene.

NOTES TO SATIRE I

1–6. Compare Varro, Menipp. 59 (Buecheler): *Cum Quintipor Clodius tot comoedias sine ulla fecerit Musa, ego unum libellum non 'edolem,' ut ait Ennius.*

1. **Reponam, recitaverit** (3), and **consumpserit** (4) are probably subjunctives. Like questions, calling for contrary answers, occur, in our author, in but four passages in which the form shows the mood, viz.: i. 52 and i. 158, 159, with the subjunctive, and ii. 21 and iii. 82 with the future indicative. In xiii. 153 it is difficult to estimate the influence of *an*. Similar questions are more frequent in Persius (i. 29, 30; ii. 23; iii. 19; v. 146–148; vi. 37, 41), and in every case with the subjunctive. Cp. also Ter. And. I. v. 35 (270), *egone istuc conari queam?* Ad. II. ii. 38 (246), *etiam insuper defrudet;* and the passage from Varro quoted above. With fut. pf. Virg. iv. Aen. 591, cited by Madvig. In Aen. ix. 785, which he also cites, I do not regard the form as proved by the context. *Nil agit exemplum quod litem lite resolvit.*

2. **Cordi** (v. l. *Codri*). The spelling seems to raise a question *de lana caprina*, since we cannot in either case identify the person. The same uncertainty attends this name in the MSS. of Virgil and Martial; save that the form *Codrus* may be regarded as probable in Ecl. v. 11, because Servius, misunderstanding the poet (see Burmann ad loc.), identifies the person there named with Κόδρος, king of Athens.

3. **ille.** Not Cordus. The pronoun is merely correlative to *hic* in verse 4.

togatas (sc. *fabulas*). To judge from Horace's *dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro*, and from the fragments collected by Ribbeck (Comici Latini) and others, the *togatae* must have answered loosely to our "high comedy" and "domestic drama." They were, of course, named from the toga in which the characters, all, or nearly all, Roman, appeared. On the other hand, the *comoediae κατ' ἐξοχήν* — comedies, like those of Terence and Plautus, adapted or translated from the Greek — were called *palliatae*, from the Latin *pallium*, which translates the Greek *φᾶρος*, or *ἱμάτιον*. In like manner, the Spanish high comedy is called "comedia de capa."

4. **elegos.** In Latin a *plurale tantum*. The Greek (singular) regularly stands for an entire elegiac poem; but, by a reaction from the Latin use, the plural *ἔλεγοι* in the Greek Anthology probably means, as in Latin, distichs of alternate hexameters and pentameters.

ingens. Applied with no little humor both to the huge son of Heracles and to a tragedy of corresponding length. Both Telephus and Orestes were favorite tragic subjects.

5. **summi libri.** A very difficult passage, if closely analyzed. For conceive the writer of the Orestes as beginning to write on papyrus already made into a scroll (*βιβλίον ἄγραφον*), since, if he were writing on separate *schedae*, there would be no occasion for writing on the back. He has written to the end of the paper, and there is more to write. Now, what would a person of ordinary sense do in such circumstances? He would fill

the margins from the end back to the beginning, since otherwise he must stop and shift the whole scroll from one roller to the other before proceeding to the next word; and the reader would have to do the same thing after him. It would therefore be natural to take *summus liber* as meaning the beginning of the book, a view to which the common use of *supra* and *superior*, in referring to what has gone before, would lend itself, as well as such expressions as *subscribe libello* (Hor. i. Sat. x. 92; see also Colum. V. vi. 5). On the other hand, from Sidonius Apollinaris to our day, the words have been regarded as meaning "the end." The words of Sidonius, Ep. viii. 16, are: *Iam copiosum te, ni fallor, pulsat exemplar: iam venitur ad margines umbilicorum* (which can only be the end); *iam tempus est* (*ut Satiricus ait*) *Orestem nostrum vel super tergi finiri*. There are other passages, as Mart. iv. 91, 4, *summa scheda* (cp. *summo carmine*, Hor. iii. Od. xxviii. 13), where *summus* certainly means "last." In these circumstances, I think we must be content to suppose that Juvenal did not form a very clear picture in his own mind of the supposed proceeding, and that his readers have not generally felt bound to any greater precision of thought.

margine. More commonly masculine, as in Ov. iii. Met. 162.

6. **et.** Mr. Simcox is in error when he intimates that this conjunction is "out of its usual place." When, as here, equivalent to *etiam*, it should, as here, immediately precede the added statement.

7–11. These verses enumerate some of the trite myths out of which the frigid poetry of Juvenal's age was mainly woven.

7, 8. **lucus Martis.** Probably the grove of the golden fleece, in Colchis. (Cp. Val. Facc. v. Arg. 229, *Martis in umbra*, and also ib. 251, 252.) Others will have it the grove where Ilia brought forth Romulus and Remus.

8, 9. **antrum Vulcani.** Cp. Virg. viii. Aen. 416–422.

10. **Aeacus.** Alluding, perhaps, to imitations of Odyss. xi. or Aen. vi.

alius. That is, Jason.

11. **pelliculae.** Σκωπτικῶς for *velleris*, in contempt of a myth no longer believed in. So Persius (Prol. 1) calls Hippocrene "the nag's fountain," *fons caballinus*, and our poet (xiii. 45) calls this same *antrum Vulcani* "*Liparea taberna*." Contrast with this ignoble expression the "*Cyclopum officinae*" of Hor. i. Od. iv. 7, 8.

Monychus (Μονώνυχος = whole-hoofed), a Centaur. Ov. xii. Met. 499 seq., esp. 511.

12. **Frontonis platani.** The scholiast explains "*in Horatiana domo*." This note is either confirmed or accounted for by a letter of M. Cornelius Fronto (ii. ad M. Caes. iv. 13) to his pupil M. Aurelius, in which he claims kindred with Horace, as the possessor of the *Horti Maecenatiani*. Niebuhr (ad Front., loc. cit.) refuses to pronounce on the question of kindred between the preceptor of M. Aurelius and the Fronto of this passage, whom in his preface (p. xxxvii) he believes to be the Catius Fronto of Pliny (iv. Ep. ix. etc.). We may be allowed to observe that the Fronto of the letters came to Rome in the reign of Trajan, and met with immediate and unexampled success as a teacher of the young nobility. If M. Corn. Fronto, who was consul with Trajan

in the year 100, was his relative, this astonishing success might be more easily accounted for.

The plane-tree, though now perfectly at home in Italy, was once an exotic there. (See Hor. ii. Od. xv. 4.) The combination of *platani*, *marmora* (i. e. *crustae*), and *columnae* suggests a marble-lined *exedra* in a *porticus* of Fronto's urban *nemus*. (Cp. Tib. III. iii. 15.) That *marmora* means *crustae* is a fair inference from the use of *concello*.

13. **ruptae.** H., Macl., M., and Lw. compare vii. 86, *fregit subsellia versu*. I cannot so interpret the words in Sat. vii., where I am persuaded that both *fregit* and *subsellia* are used figuratively: the former as in Cic. Sull. vi. 18, *flectebar animo atque frangebar*, and ad Att. VII. xii. 3, *frangor misericordia puerorum* (cp. Pers. i. 18); the latter as in Pers. i. 82. Readers of Horace will remember that in i. Sat. x. 76 the Equites stand for the connoisseurs, as *ingentes Titos* in Pers. i. 20, and that *subsellia* in Juvenal's day stood without further qualification for *equites*, as in Martial, i. 27; ib. v. 8. *Fregit subsellia*, therefore, means nothing more than "touched (moved, affected) the critics."

assiduo lectore. Explained by some as abl. abs., for want of an *ab*. But it is an unwritten rule of all grammar, and perhaps the one most generally useful to explain apparent anomalies in syntax, that when a word or a phrase stands for another it tends to assume *pro illa vice* more or less of the construction of that for which it stands. Here *assiduo lectore* stands for *assidua recitatione*, which needs no preposition. The passages cited here by M. (though not for this purpose) afford some examples. Others will be indicated and

commented upon as they occur in the text. Here I will only add two passages, Hor. ii. Od. xviii. 11, 12, where *lacesso* stands for *posco*, and borrows its construction, and Cic. i. Off. xiii. § 40, *quod se oblitum diceret*, where *diceret* is in the subjunctive because this construction stands for *quod oblitus esset* (without *dico*), a construction requiring that mood, as embodying a reason alleged by another. The reader who, in his Latin reading, will keep this rule of "substituted syntax" in mind will find it of extremely wide application.

15. **ferulae subduximus.** Meaning simply "I too have been to school." The severity of the Roman schoolmasters is well known. Compare Horace's *plagosus Orbilius* (ii. Ep. i. 70) and what our poet says at vii. 210, *metuens virgae . . . Achilles.* An illustration of what seems a very cruel whipping at school will be found in Rich, *sub. voc. catomidio*, and in Baumeister, fig. 1653. The expression used here seems to have become proverbial, and it may have been so even in Juvenal's time. In Macrobius, III. x. 2 [*Evangelus*], *et nos inquit, manum ferulae aliquando subduximus ; et nos cepimus pontificii iuris auditum.*

16. **consilium . . . Sullae.** Sulla voluntarily resigned the Dictatorship B. C. 79. The motives of this rather surprising act made a good subject for one of those school-themes which were known as *suasoriae*, and which, as Tacitus (Dial. Orat. 35) tells us, were set to boys, *tamquam plane leviores* (scil. *controversiis*) *et minus prudentiae exigentes.* M. aptly refers to Quint. iii. Inst. viii. § 53.

19. **decurrere.** I agree with H. that *decurro* is to be referred to the race-course, rather than with M., who

relies on Hor. ii. Sat. i. 32, for the meaning "resort to." Even in Cicero's time it applies to racing, *nunc video calcem* (the goal) *ad quam cum sit decursum, nihil sit praeterea extimescendum* (i. Tusc. viii. § 15; cp. de Sen. xxiii. § 83, and Ovid iii. T. iv. 33, *spatium decurrere vitae*). How completely it had become, in Juvenal's time, a word of the race-course appears from Seneca, Controv. viii. (iv.), in Praef.: *cursores . . . id saepe in exercitatione decurrunt quod semel decursuri sunt in certamine ;* and again, Cont. iv., in Praef.: *Itaque Divus Augustus optime dixit "Aterius noster sufflaminandus" adeo nedum currere sed decurrere videbatur. . . .* "I will not say run, but race."

20. **alumnus.** Lucilius was a contemporary of Afranius, Attius, Pacuvius, and Sex. Turpilius. He was born at Suessa Aurunca, between Capua and Caieta, near the boundary of Campania. He was of equestrian rank, and Pompey the Great was, through his mother, his grand-nephew. He was the originator of the truly Roman Satura.

22. **spado.** Cp. vi. 367–375.

Mevia. Unknown. On the exhibition of women in the arena the leading texts are: Tac. xv. An. 32; Mart. Spec. 6; Suet. Dom. 4; Stat. i. S. vi. 51–56. Since Martial (Spec. 6) mentions the still more wonderful case of a woman who fought against a lion, it seems probable that this passage antedates that epigram. That this proves nothing for the satire as a whole I have pointed out in the introduction.

23. **nuda mamma.** Nevia copied the costume of an Amazon from the works of art, in which the Amazons so frequently appear, just as our ladies take theirs,

for costumed balls, etc., from historical paintings. See Mus. Borbon. ii. pl. 46; iv. pl. 11; Gargiulo, Mus. Naz. ii. 14, and the sarcophagus of the Capitol. The Amazons extirpated the right breast in the interest of their archery. As it would have been unartistic to display such a mutilation in a work of art, the ancient artists represented them with only the perfect breast (though this is usually the wrong one) exposed. I think that the poets as often borrowed from the artists as these from those. Compare, e. g., Horace's description of Necessitas, in i. Od. xxxv. 17–20, with the statue actually discovered at Antium, and represented in Causaeus, Mus. Rom. ii. pl. 28, where, however, it is Fortuna herself that carries the *clavus trabalis*.

24. **omnis . . . unus.** That is, he singly challenges their collective wealth. So in vii. 113, 114, *hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum, Parte alia solum russati pone Lacertae.*

25. **quo tondente.** It has been suggested by M. that this was the Cinnamus of Mart. vii. 63. But we are nowhere told that Cinnamus ever had more than the *census equester*, and the last we hear of him is that he is in reduced circumstances, and likely to have to resume his razors; unless, indeed, it were possible to identify him with the usurer of Mart. ix. 94. Another suggestion, that this is the Licinus of verse 109, and also of Hor. A. P. 301, is not worthy of serious discussion.

gravis. Already a heavy beard, i. e. not in Juvenal's first youth, to show how lately the barber was still at his trade. P. & S. suggest that the beard "sounded so grandly" to the (very) young man. This explanation seems to rest on a misapprehension of the force of

iuvenis, which was applied to any age between *pueritia* and the forty-sixth year. Cic. de Sen. xvii. § 60, *sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores nostri ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt*, etc., with which compare Cens. de die nat. xiv. (13): *In tertio gradu qui erant usque ad xlv annos iuvenes appellatos eo quod rempublicam in re militari possunt iuvare*, — one of Varro's unsound etymologies. Cp. also Livy, II. xxxiv. 10, where Coriolanus, called in xxxiii. 5, *inter primores iuvenum . . . adulescens*, declares that he had not tolerated the rule of Tarquinius, who had been deposed eighteen years before.

26. **verna Canopi.** With the exception of Ruperti and, among the moderns, Lewis, the interpreters infer that Crispinus was a slave, as if the fact that he was a plebeian of "infamous Canopus" (xv. 46) were not, in Juvenal's sight, sufficiently degrading. But of this servile origin I find no historical evidence whatever. It seems to be a gratuitous inference from the word *verna*, and the unknown interpolator of Valla's unknown scholiast is primarily responsible for it. But *verna* does not necessarily mean more than "native;" and we need not go further than Mayor's citations on this passage to prove it. In ix. 10 Juvenal speaks of a native-born Roman knight as a *verna eques;* in Sat. v. 105 he calls a fish of the Tiber *vernula riparum*. Martial names a Roman poet *Numae verna* (x. 76, 4), and calls a book written at Rome *verna liber* in contrast to one written in Gaul (iii. 1, 6; cp. v. 18, 4). Moreover, we have the distinct testimony of Festus (Lindemann, Corp. Gram. ii. p. 277), *Romanos vernas (Sabini?) appellabant, id est ibidem natos*, which is no mean proof that this

was the original meaning of the word. The words *siquidem ex libertino senator est a Nerone factus* in Valla's scholiast stand as part of an interpolation between *obelisci*. Borghesi (Oeuvres, iv. 513) conjectures that Crispinus, while *praefectus praetorio* with Corn. Fuscus, sent Juvenal into exile. If *verna* means "slave," and if Juvenal was, as some hold, the son of a *libertus*, he gives us in his own person a striking illustration of Hor. i. Sat. vi. 41, *namque est ille quod pater meus fuit . . . hoc tibi Paullus et Messalla videris?*

27. **Crispinus.** Mentioned again in Sat. iv. See also Mart. vii. 98; viii. 48. Martial's *Tyria abolla* is quite the equivalent of our *Tyrias lacernas*.

revocante. This expresses the act of one who, by a jerk of the shoulder, recovers a loosely worn garment which is sliding off, — a movement quite familiar to ladies who wear shawls. This explanation, which H. credits to Wakefield, is at least as old as Lubinus. The *lacerna* (commonly plural) was a kind of shawl, or a piece of stuff worn loosely on the shoulders, either over the toga or in place of it. This appears from an edict of Augustus which forbade any man to stand in the forum or the circus *nisi positis lacernis togatum*.

28, 29. **ventilet**, etc. The signet-ring (cp. infra, 68) is a light one, made expressly for summer use; and yet this effeminate fellow sweats with its weight, and must cool his hand by waving it in the breeze. Elwert's explanation that *aestivum aurum* means the same thing as *semestri auro* in Sat. vii. 89, i. e. the tribuneship, beside all other objections, would take all point from verse 29.

30. **difficile est**, etc. This is the keynote of this satire, which is intended as an introduction to the entire collection.

iniquae. Not "iniquitous" (Macl.), nor "not to be borne with" (H.), but "unjust" (P. & S.); but the injustice lies in the honor paid to rogues, not, as P. & S. have it, in the inequalities of social condition. Cp. Ter. And. I. ii. 16 (187), *iniqui patris est*, and Hor. i. Sat. iii. 67, *legem sancimus iniquam*.

31. **ferreus.** Not "hard-hearted," but here, like the Greek σιδήρεος, apathetic (R.). Cp. vii. 150, *O ferrea pectora Vetti*.

32. **causidicus.** Distinguished by Cic. (de Orat. I. xlvi. 202) from an orator (Macl.). In that passage *causidicus* is certainly in bad company, — with *rabula*, a pettifogger; but in Orat. ix. 30 Lysias is called a *causidicus*, "a mere pleader," as distinguished from a great political orator, like Demosthenes or Aeschines. See also, and in Juvenal's age, Tac. Dial. Orat. i., *diserti causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur*.

nova. Since he is the first of his family to ride in one. This ostentation ruined him, Sat. vii. 129.

Mathonis. For the character of this man as a ranting bawler, a cheat, an impudent beggar, a libertine, and a spendthrift, see Sat. vii. 129; xi. 34; and Mart. iv. 81; vii. 9; viii. 42; x. 46; xi. 69.

33. **plena ipso.** "Full of his high-mightiness" (L.).

delator. The *delatores* first gained prominence under Tiberius (Suet. Tib. 61). Vespasian (ib. Vesp. 8) punished these "private detectives" and their employers, the so-called *mandatores*, with public whipping, selling into slavery, or penal deportation. But they

revived under Domitian, in spite of his fine saying, at the beginning of his reign (Suet. Dom. ix.), *Princeps qui delatores non castigat irritat.* For a graphic description of one of the more conspicuous *delatores* see the character of M. Aquilius Regulus in Plin. i. Ep. v. § 14.

34. **comesa.** Meaning, of course, the property of the nobility, of which, when confiscated, the informers got their share. The hostility of the bad emperors to the patricians was natural enough. Whatever an autocrat had to fear would proceed, as ever, from that class. Tacitus and Suetonius testify to the fact, and Juvenal, iv. 97, tells us that in his time *prodigio par est cum nobilitate senectus.* Cp. ib. 73, *quos oderat ille*, and 154, *Lamiarum caede madenti.*

35, 36. **Massa, Carus,** and **Latinus** were themselves famous informers. Latinus was a noted actor (Mart. ix. 27). It is impossible to say how much we ought to trust the scholiast in this place. Like modern commentators, the ancient scholiasts have extremely various values. Their notes are often pure inventions suggested by some word in the text. Here we are told that Massa Baebius and Carus Metius (Mart. xii. 25) were destroyed by a more clever informer named Heliodorus; that Massa was a *morio* (a sort of court fool or butt) and a freedman of Nero, as were also Carus, who was a dwarf, and Latinus, the pantomime. But Massa Baebius was one of the *procuratores Africae* (Tac. iv. H. 50), and afterward governor of Baetica. This might suit a *libertus*, but hardly a *morio*. We cannot but feel that such a statement proves the scholiast an unsafe guide.

Thymele is named with Latinus by Martial (i. 5) as an actress. Heinrich argues here, with a perverse ingenuity, that the poet refers to the plot of some play in which Latinus (a character) is a lover who sends Thymele, his paramour, to appease her jealous husband. One can hardly conceive anything more inept than such a reference in this connection. It is far more sensible to conjecture that Latinus really is trying to conciliate the terrible *innominato* by means of Thymele's complaisance. *Submitto* is used *in malam partem.* (Cp. Pallad. Mar. xiii. 6; Jul. iv. 1; Nemes. Cyneg. 114.) It has been noted that Thymele is a name evidently derived from the Greek θυμέλη. This is, of course, no reason for supposing in the case of an actress that Juvenal invented it. It may well have been her stage name. From *palpo*, which, literally, means "to pat" (Plaut. Merc. I. i. 42 has *palpo percutere*), Persius has a noun, *palpo, -onis.*

37. **summoveant.** This verb expresses the action of pushing aside with authority, as e. g. when a lictor is clearing the way for a magistrate. Cp. Hor. ii. Od. xvi. 9, 10; Liv. III. xi. 4 and xiv. 4.

38. **noctibus.** Not the equivalent of *noctu.* The meaning may be inferred from the phrase *dare noctem*, constantly used of the *meretrices.*

evehit. Cp. Hor. i. Od. i. 6, *evehit ad deos.* There is perhaps an allusion to the career of the Emperor Otho, for which see Suet. Otho 2. In Sat. x. 318, *sed tuus Endymion dilectae fiet adulter Matronae; mox cum dederit Servilia nummos, fiet et illius quam non amat.*

40. **unciolam . . . deuncem.** Proportional parts of any unit (*as*), e. g. an inheritance. Gillo is *heres ex deunce* ($\frac{1}{12}$), while Proculeius only gets the remain-

ing uncia. See Cic. xiii. ad Att. xlviii. 1, and the whole subject in Alex. ab Alexandro, i. 1. Gillo and Proculeius are wholly unknown.

41. quisque = *uterque* (Munro), as in Ov. ii. Fast. 715; Liv. ii. 44, etc. This is not mere carelessness, as will appear if, in an English translation, we substitute "everybody" for "each." There is, as it were, a suggestion that though but two are named, there may be many more.

42. sane. Ironical, like our "by all means" (M.).

mercedem sanguinis. M. refers to xiv. 164, *merces haec sanguinis* (speaking of military rewards). But that the words are used either there or here as an idiom is yet to prove.

44. Lugdunensem. Better *Lŭgŭdunensem*. Suetonius, Cal. 20, relates that Caligula instituted a *certamen Graecae Latinaeque facundiae* at Lyons, before the altar of Augustus and Roma. The victors were rewarded at the expense of the vanquished, who were also otherwise punished (L.). The passage in Suetonius should be consulted for the details, which are interesting. As to the form *Lugudunensem*, the reader will find the point exhaustively treated by Alfred Holder in Beer's Spicileg. Juven. pp. 55–58.

45. siccum. By prolepsis, the dryness being the result of the heat (*ardeat*). The liver was regarded as the seat of the passions.

46. gregibus. From its application to bands of slaves, dancers, and actors, this word seems to have acquired a more exclusively bad sense between the ages of Horace and of Juvenal than it had in the Augustan period. Cp. *grege Chaldaeo*, x. 94. Horace, i. Od. xxiv. 18, applies it to the shades in Elysium; ii. Sat. iii. 44, to the followers of a philosopher; and i. Ep. ix. 13, to the friends of Tiberius; but in i. Od. xxxvii. 9 to the vile crew that surrounded Cleopatra. The use of the plural, which it might be difficult to account for otherwise, seems to prove that *premit* must be taken with *damnatus*. H., following L. and others, reads *premat;* but, on the principle of substituted syntax spoken of in the note to verse 13, the indicative is right, since *cum* = *quandocumque*.

spoliator. Rare, but classical. Cf. Cic. iv. Verr. xxxvi. § 80.

47. prostantis. Another case of prolepsis, since the necessity *quaestum corpore faciendi* arose only when the spoliation was complete.

inani. Because it left him most of his plunder. Greedy provincial governors early learned to rob for their judges as well as for themselves. Cic. i. Verr. i. 14, § 40, *ita triennium illud praeturae Siciliensis distributum habere, ut secum praeclare agi diceret, si unius anni quaestum in rem suam converteret: alterum patronis et defensoribus suis traderet: tertium illum uberrimum quaestuosissimumque annum totum iudicibus reservaret;* and ib. i. § 1, *Inveteravit opinio . . . pecuniosum hominem, quamvis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari.*

48. infamia. A technical word of the law. Cp. Dig. III. ii. 1, 13, 22, and Renazzi, Elem. Jur. Crim. l. ii. c. xii. 2. French law still recognizes a distinction between "peines infamantes" and "peines afflictives."

49. Marius. Marius Priscus, the Verres of Africa, was convicted A. D. 100, — Tacitus, the historian, and

Pliny the younger being of counsel for the province. See a report of this *cause célèbre* in Plin. ii. Ep. xi.

ab octava. The usual hour for the *cena* at Rome was the ninth, three o'clock, at the vernal equinox; but it was probably earlier in the provinces. M. Antonius did worse than Marius. Cicero, ii. Phil. xli. § 104, speaks of him as drinking *ab hora tertia* (nine A. M.). There is a curious coincidence between what Juvenal says of Marius Priscus and what Plutarch relates of the habits of the great Marius. It appears that, to drown his remorse, he "*φοβούμενος τὰς ἀγρυπνίας, ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πότους ἑαυτὸν, καὶ μέθας ἀώρους καὶ παρ' ἡλικίαν*," κ. τ. λ., where (Plut. Marius xlv.) *μέθας ἀώρους* corresponds to the idea of *bibit ab octava*.

fruitur dis iratis. Ruperti quotes Sen. Herc. Fur. 34, where Juno says of Hercules, *ira nostra fruitur*.

50. **ploras.** Not without cause, since, though Marius was fined 700,000 sesterces, that sum did not return to the province, but was transferred to the Roman treasury. It was a clear case of *post omnia perdere naulum* (Sat. viii. 97).

51. **Venusina lucerna.** That is, the "midnight oil" of Horace, who was from Venusia (Hor. ii. Sat. i. 35); cp. Hor. ii. Ep. i. 112, 113 (H.). Our phrase dates back still further, for the detractors of Demosthenes declared that his orations smelled of the lamp. Plut. Dem. viii., *Ὑυθέας ἐπισκώπτων ἐλλυχνίων ἔφησεν ὄζειν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐνθυμήματα*.

52, 53. **Heracleas**, etc. How weary sensible men had become of all this stale rubbish, from which the soul had departed with the decay of the old faith, is clearly seen in the writers of this age. Cp., e. g., Mart. X. iv.

mugitum. Scil. Minotauri.

54. **puero.** Dative of the agent, used especially with the participle and tenses compounded with it (Zumpt, § 419; Draeg. i. 189), but also with other tenses. So Ov. v. T. x. 37, *Barbarus hic ego sum, quia non intelligor ulli*. P. & S. wrongly explain this as abl. instr. See the story in Virg. vi. Aen. 14–33.

55. **si ius nullum.** As it appears from verse 49 that this satire was published after A. D. 100, it has been held by some critics, from Turnebus down, that the reference is to Domitian's law (Suet. Dom. 8) disqualifying the *feminae probrosae* from receiving legacies and inheritances; but H. justly claims that this was no *femina probrosa*. And in fact, if she had been, this farce of snoring would have been superfluous. I think with him that the reference is to the *Lex Voconia*, forbidding any man rated above 100,000 asses to name any woman *heredem ex asse*.

57. **ad calicem.** On *ad* see Kühner, ii. § 97, 3. H. claims priority in indicating the parallel of Cic. vii. Fam. xxiv. 1, where Capius, a complaisant husband, is fast asleep for his rich guest who is taking liberties with his wife, but wide awake when a slave would help himself to wine, *non omnibus, inquit, dormio*. Plutarch (Erot. xvi.) rehashes the story, making Maecenas the guest, and *Κάββας* or *Κάλβας* the husband. This is probably the Gabba, or Galba, of Sat. v. 4, since Plutarch calls him a *scurra*, *γελοτοποιός*. But the story is as old as Lucilius. Festus (Lindemann, Corp. Gram. Lat. ii. p. 182). *Non omnibus dormio; proverbium natum a Cipio quodam, qui Pararhencon dictus est, quod simularet dormientem, quo impunitius uxor eius moecharetur; eius meminit*

Lucilius, and the saying was already proverbial in Cicero's day. Cp. Hor. iii. Od. vi. 31, 32, and the whole matter in Erasm. Adag. Chil. i. 604.

58. **cohortis.** M., S., and others take this to mean auxiliary cavalry; H. (after Torrentius, L., etc.), a cohort of the Praetorian guard. The passages cited in support of either view seem to me quite inconclusive. Plin. x. Ep. xix. only shows that a certain youth began military service as *praefectus cohortis*. The passage from Suet. Claud. xxv. which gives the course of promotion in the *militia equestris* (i. e. for young men of equestrian families; those of senatorial houses having been otherwise provided for by Augustus, ib. Aug. 38) reads, *post cohortem, alam; post alam, tribunatum legionis*, etc. From the fact that in the age of Suetonius *ala* was always auxiliary cavalry, and also from the expression *tribunatus legionis*, it has been inferred that *cohors* must also mean allied cavalry. This would be stronger evidence if we were surer of the meaning of *ala* in the reign of Claudius. Moreover, it appears that this course of promotion either was not exclusive, or else did not long remain in force. For we learn from Tacitus (Ag. 5) that Agricola, who was of equestrian rank, began his military career as a legionary tribune under C. Suet. Paullinus, A. D. 59–62, and therefore in Nero's reign. If we were sure that, beside the six tribunes of the legion, there were also inferior tribunes (perhaps distinguished as *tribuni cohortium*, — Caes. ii. B. C. 20, — and perhaps often spoken of by the general name of *praefecti* = commanders) for the ten cohorts of the legion, — and it is certainly strange to find a military subdivision without some corresponding head, — the solution of this difficult point would be greatly facilitated. An old scholiast explains by *militum tribunatum*. H. relies on the fact that the Praetorians, not being organized as a legion, were spoken of κατ' ἐξοχήν as *cohortes praetorianae* (Plin. ix. N. H. v. (vi.)). He also cites Sat. x. 94. It does not seem to me possible to reach a certain conclusion. I am not sure that a plausible case might not be made for either the *cohortes urbanae* or the *cohortes vigilum*, either of which might suit a dissipated youth ill disposed to give up the pleasures of the city.

59. **donavit**, etc. Varro, Menipp. 480 (Buecheler), *nunc emunt trossuli* (the dandies) *nardo nitidi vulgo Attico talento ecum*.

60–62. **dum pervolat . . . amicae.** There are six theories of punctuation, and as many interpretations of this vexed passage. In so much uncertainty two indications are helpful: (1) that an allusion to Nero seems improbable, unless we take *cohortis* as the Praetorian guard, since the spendthrift of A. D. 68 would be at least forty-five years old in A. D. 100, — rather too old to begin a military career; (2) *nam*, in verse 61, seems to assign some reason for calling this fellow an Automedon, and we know from viii. 146–157 how disgraceful Juvenal thought it for a gentleman to drive. Hence *lora tenebat ipse* should be kept together. Macl. quotes Madvig (Opusc. i. 36), who refers *ipse* to *puer*, without any reference to Nero or any other person. The position of *nam* is not absolutely conclusive, since our author has it in the third place at xi. 21, and has *namque* in the second place in xi. 50; but *nam* loses most of its force if we place the interpunction before *Automedon* or

before *puer*. On the whole, therefore, I prefer the pointing adopted by Jahn. Note that the position of *ipse* makes it emphatic.

61. **Automedon.** The charioteer of Achilles (Hom. ix. Il. 209, etc.; Virg. ii. Aen. 477) stands here for any driver, "a young Jehu" (M.).

62. **lacernatae.** That is, in man's attire. After the allusions to Mevia (22) this would not be in any way surprising; but if we consider that a *scortum* was forbidden to use the flounced *stola* (Hor. i. Sat. ii. 29; Mart. i. 36) and the *palla*, — in short, the peculiar dress of the *matrona*, — and was compelled to wear a shorter tunic, without the *institа*, and a dark-colored (Becker, Gall. Sc. viii. Exc. ii.) *toga* (*ancilla togata*, Hor. i. Sat. ii. 63; cp. Tib. IV. x. 3), i. e. to dress like a man, then *pari ratione* we might expect the *lacerna*, which was also regarded as a masculine garment. See Cruquius' scholiast on Hor. i. Sat. ii. 29, and the whole subject in Becker's Gallus, loc. cit. The *Via Flaminia* leads out from Rome toward the north through the "Porta del Popolo." It is now called "il Corso," from the races of Barbary horses which, until lately, were run there in the carnival.

iactaret. H. refers to Liv. XXXIX. xlii., xliii., and thinks that Juvenal had that story in view. The words *iactantem sese scorto* do occur there (xliii. 2); but our author did not, I suppose, need to go so far for such a natural expression.

63. **ceras.** Scil. *pugillares*, writing-tablets: usually two thin boards (sometimes more, — *cerae triplices*, Mart. xiv. 6; *quintiplices*, ib. 4) hinged together and slightly countersunk on their inner face, to receive a layer of wax for writing upon with a *stilus*. See Mus. Borb. iv. pl. 43; Baumeister, fig. 1648.

63, 64. **medio quadrivio.** That is, without waiting to get home (H.).

64. **sexta cervice.** That is, in a *hexaphorum*. As to the use of the ordinal for *sex cervicibus*, cp. ii. Peter ii. 5, ἀλλ' ὄγδοον Νῶε δικαιοσύνης κήρυκα ἐφύλαξε. The *hexaphorum* is called by Martial, iv. 51, *ingens*, an epithet applicable *a fortiori* to the *octophoron*. As the bearers doubtless walked three abreast, the *hexaphorum* must have been considerably wider than the ordinary *lectica*.

65. **cathedra.** The Romans had three kinds of vehicles borne by men, the *lectica* (palankeen), the *sella gestatoria*, and the *cathedra* (sedan-chair). The *cathedra* was probably a lady's chair (Hor. i. Sat. x. 91); also used by effeminate men. That the chairs used by ladies differed from those used by men appears from Suet. Otho 6, where Otho is said to have used a *sella muliebris* (cp. Calpur. vii. 27, in Baehren's Poet. Lat. Min.); no doubt a closed chair, since he desired to avoid recognition. For all these vehicles could be closed by means of curtains (*plagae*, *plagulae*, *velum*) with or without lights glazed with mica. See Becker, Gallus iii. Exc. i. It was considered undignified to be seen lolling in such a conveyance, and the curtains were therefore usually drawn. The easy sloping back of the *cathedra* justifies *supino* (66), which Pliny, xvi. N. H. 68, applies to the *cathedrae* themselves, be these sedan-chairs or armchairs.

66. **Maecenate.** The friend of Augustus and of the poets was a notorious sybarite and bon-vivant. (Cp. note to 57.) Take *multum* with *referens*. So Tac. G. 20, *robora parentum liberi referunt*.

67. **signator falso.** Testamentary witness to an altered will (Suet. Aug. 33, Tib. 23, Nero 17). Madvig, after Gronovius, regards *falso* as a substantive in the abl. case (cp. the French *un faux* = a forgery; Plin. x. Ep. lxvi., *crimine falsi damnatus*), and would punctuate *signator, falso,* or read *signato falso.* The testamentary witness affixed his seal (*signum, sigillum*) to the will, with the addition of his name in the genitive case, to show whose seal it was. Hence the modern meaning of "signature." *Falso* might refer to the substitution of an altered will at the moment of its execution; or it might be the crime of one who, after the testator's death, forged a will, and either had it witnessed by others with himself (the witnesses were commonly seven), or forged the seals of dead persons as witnesses. This last seems to me the best explanation, and agrees with Heinrich's view that *signo* should be supplied with *falso.* M. cites the case of Oppianicus, who substituted for the will of his mother-in-law, Dinea, a new will, *signis adulterinis.* Cic. Cluent. xliv. § 125; cp. xiv. Phil. ii. § 7, *testamenta, credo, subiiciunt.* Oppianicus signed with a seal purporting to be that of a certain Avilius, and then poisoned him, lest he should deny the genuineness of the seal.

68. **exiguis.** As he made himself sole heir (R.), cp. ii. 58.

gemma uda. The ancients sealed with beeswax, and moistened the signet, just as we do, to keep it from adhering to the wax, as it would if dry. So Ovid. ii. Am. xv. 15–18, wishes he were his mistress' signet-ring, for then *Idem ego, ut arcanas possim signare tabellas Neve* tenax *ceram* siccave *gemma trahat, Humida formosae tangam prius ora puellae,* a passage which P. & S. have strangely misunderstood.

fecerat. P. & S., following Rk. and Beer, read *fecerit,* which is doubtless more natural than *fecerat.* But that the pluperfect is quite a possible reading appears from such passages as Plaut. Men. 57, *Epidamniensis ille quem dudum dixeram* (= *nominavi*), and many others, which are collected by Kühner (Ausf. Gr. ii. § 35, 2).

69. **occurrit.** Of a chance meeting, as in Sat. v. 54, of the Moor, *cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem* (M.).

70. **sitiente.** Abl. abs. Supply *ei* with *porrectura* (R.). Words ending in a spondee close the word and foot with the same syllable. Hence a strong motive for preferring ablatives in *ĕ* to datives in *ī*. M. refers to verse 152, *animo flagrante;* cp. Cic. xi. Phil. x. 23, *te invito provinciam tibi esse decretam* (for *tibi invito*), and Hor. i. Sat. vi. 23, where *fulgente curru* is used for the dative.

rubetam. Plin. xxxii. N. H. 18, *sunt* (*ranae*) *quae invepribus* (= *rubetis*) *tantum vivunt, ob id rubetarum nomine . . . quas Graeci phrynos* (φρύνη) *vocant, grandissimae cunctarum, geminis velut cornibus, plenae veneficorum.*

71. **Lucusta.** Tac. xii. A. 66; xiii. ib. 15; Suet. Nero 33, 37. A famous poisoner employed by Nero.

rudes. Hence needing to be taught (*instituit*). We learn from Suetonius that Nero gave Lucusta large possessions, and pupils also, which explains the allusion to teaching. Observe that *instituo* stands here for *doceo,* and borrows its construction (two accusatives) in place of its own (*ad* with gerd. or gdve., or *ut* with subj.).

See note to verse 13. H. refers the comparison in *melior* to *rudes*, which greatly weakens the passage. Juvenal means that this matron was an improved and more skillful Lucusta.

72. **nigros.** One effect of the poisons used in ancient Rome was to make the corpse black or livid. See Suet. Cal. 1; Ov. i. Met. 147, *lurida aconita*. Zonaras (Ann. ii. p. 188, edn. of 1557, Basle) relates that the body of Britannicus, poisoned by Nero and Lucusta, was whitewashed before it was carried to the pyre; but a sudden rain (also mentioned by Suetonius) washed off the gypsum, and revealed the crime. The face of the Russian Peter III., who is thought to have been poisoned by Alexis Orloff, turned quite black while he lay in state in the Church of St. Alexander Newsky. This was regarded as evidence that the unhappy Czar had been poisoned, although it has been asserted that Orloff strangled him. See Hist. de Cathérine II., vol. i. p. 279.

efferre. The usual word for carrying out to burial. So Ter. And. I. i. 90 (117). Suet. Nero 33, *postero die raptim, inter maximos imbres translaticio extulit funere* (*Britannicum*).

73. **Gyaris.** M.'s evidence for *Gyara* as a plural is unsatisfactory, so far as Latin writers go. H., without any evidence, pronounces against *Gyara* and in favor of *Gyari*, which seems to be an invention of Ruperti. For the former we have at least Greek authority in Arrian, iv. 4. It is safest to regard this plural as used, like the plural of other proper names, to signify a class (Kühner, ii. § 23, 4; Madvig, Gr. § 50, Obs. 4; Draeger, i. p. 10). Gyaros, now Giura, was a mere rock, almost destitute of fresh water, with no inhabitants save a few

fishermen, who, in the reign of Augustus, could not collectively pay a tax of about $25. Such were the Siberias and Spitzbergens of the Caesars. Cp. Gibbon, Dec. and Fall, etc., i. ch. vi. and note.

74. **aliquis.** Others have *aliquid*. Both forms are used with *esse* in the sense of "to be somebody;" and the question seems to be whether the poet, having just written *aude aliquid*, would prefer the more striking repetition of *aliquid* or the more sober change to *aliquis*.

75. **criminibus.** *Crimen* in the best prose means an accusation, not a crime. But it acquired the latter sense after the Augustan age, just as *reus*, originally a party to a suit, especially the defendant, came to mean a convicted criminal, because, under a despotic government, accusation usually involves conviction without much regard for justice.

praetoria. First the "tent" of a general (*praetor*); then "headquarters," the "residence" of a provincial governor; and finally any fine dwelling, especially out of Rome. P. & S. owe us some evidence that *praetorium* was ever used in respectable Latin to signify the emperor's palace, the Palatium.

mensas. Objects of great extravagance with the Romans. *Mensae* of citrus-wood (*Thuia cypressoides*), with ivory or silver feet, were enormously expensive. The supply all came from a very limited region, Mt. Atlas. The tree was cut across the grain, so that a round table could not be larger than the trunk. *Mensae* were not esteemed when not of one piece. Pliny, xiii. N. H. xxix., relates that Cicero, the orator, once paid one million sesterces (about $42,290) for one; and another, in the family of the Cethegi, cost over $60,000, — the price,

adds Pliny, of a vast landed estate (*latifundii taxatione*). And Seneca (Ben. vii. 9) *mensas et aestimatum lignum senatoris censu*.

hortos. It is impossible, in the compass of a brief note, to convey an idea of the extravagant splendor of the Roman *rus in urbe*. The reader is referred to Mayor's edition of Juvenal, where he will find three closely printed pages of descriptive passages, or to Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte, etc.

76. **argentum.** Old silver, especially that chiseled by the famous *caelatores*, Mentor, Evander, Phidias, Polycletus, etc., was in great demand among the Roman collectors. The art of making such *toreumata* had died out when Pliny the elder wrote. (See Pl. xxxiii. N. H. lv.) A bowl representing a goat (sacred to Bacchus because it browsed the vine, cp. Ov. i. F. 357) in *alto rilievo* is described by Mart. viii. 51.

78. **sponsae turpes.** Debauched while yet only engaged to be married to another man.

praetextatus. That is, before he has put on the *toga virilis*, which was usually done between the ages of fourteen and seventeen, according to the father's judgment. Caligula was thought to have seduced, while yet *praetextatus*, his own sister Drusilla (Suet. Cal. 24).

80. **Cluvienus.** An unknown poetaster.

81. **Deucalion.** See Ov. i. Met. 260 seqq.; Hor. i. Od. ii.

tollentibus aequor. Elsewhere used of raising the waves, but here evidently of raising the surface of the waters.

82. **navigio**, etc. Juvenal seldom misses an opportunity of scoffing at the worn-out mythology of paganism.

Cp. i. 10 n.; ii. 149–152; Egeria in iii. 12; Pegasus in iii. 118; the virgin Muses in iv. 36, etc.

montem. Parnassus, according to Ovid, whom Juvenal seems to follow. The oracle was that of Themis, who gave responses on the mountain (Ov. vii. Met. 321). The inquiry was how Deucalion and Pyrrha should restore the human race. The answer was that they should cast behind them the bones of their mother. Deucalion, like a true son of Prometheus, guessed the riddle, and began with Pyrrha to cast backward the stones (λᾶας, a stone) of the earth, whence the word λαός came to mean "people." This etymology is, of course, the gem of the myth.

sortes. Originally small bits of wood, which were marked and thrown into a narrow-mouthed urn (*sitella*), which was then filled with water. The one of these lots which appeared at the mouth of the urn was supposed to reveal the future. There were other methods of divining with *sortes*, and the act was described as *sortes coniicere, deiicere, miscere, ducere*, according to the method employed. From this meaning *sortes* came to be used for other sorts of divination, and, as here, for the response of an oracle. With *posco* this is the only possible meaning.

83. **mollia.** By prolepsis, Si. Ov. i. Met. 402, more exactly, *mollita*.

84. **ostendit.** It need not be supposed, with H., that Juvenal attributes to Pyrrha, so early in the world's history, the feminine accomplishment of match-making. Pyrrha showed the girls to the boys merely in that the stones which she threw turned into females in their sight, and necessarily minus any sort of toilette.

86. **discursus.** Means "discourse" only in the latest Latin; here "pursuits." It does not follow from *est* that *discursus* is singular. *Est* probably agrees with the predicate *farrago* by a very common attraction. Madvig, Gr. § 216.

farrago. Literally mixed grain or fodder; hence a medley. Festus defines it, *id quod ex pluribus satis* (kinds of grain) *pabuli causa datur iumentis.* Observe that *satira* was derived, as the Romans believed, from *lanx satura*, a hodge-podge, which was the same sort of dish for men that *farrago* was for cattle (H.).

88. **sinus.** Some annotators interpret this as the belly of a sail filled by the wind. I prefer, with H., Lw., and Macl., to take it as the *sinus togae*, that fold of the toga which hung across the breast and was used as a pocket. The toga, a circular cloak split from the centre to the circumference, was generally worn like the modern *pastrano* of the Italians, and the *capa* in Spain. Starting with one free end in front of the left shoulder, the ample garment was passed across the back, below the right arm, then across the breast and over the left shoulder, the other free end hanging behind that shoulder. The symmetrical arrangement of the *sinus* was an object of incredible care to the Roman dandy. Here are some articles mentioned as carried in the *sinus:* letters (Cic. vii. Verr. lvii. § 147), concealed weapons (Suet. Aug. 35), gold coin (Quint. Inst. VII. i. 30), and frequently the purse (*crumena*), for which *sinus* is sometimes used, as we say that some one paid for a thing "out of his own pocket." So Prop. II. xvi. (III. viii.), 12; Ov. i. Am. x. 18.

89. **animos.** Supply *habuit*, a frequent omission in this somewhat stereotyped phrase. H. regards *hos* as a false reading, and accepts Heinecke's suggestion, *haec animos*, comparing Hor. A. P. 330, *An, haec animos aerugo*, of which he finds this a reminiscence.

loculis. *Plurale tantum*, and so called from being divided into little compartments. It was used for keeping money (Mart. xiv. 12; Hor. ii. Ep. i. 175), keys (Pl. N. H. xiv. 13, 14 § 89), etc. The name is only applicable to something much smaller than the *arca* (safe, strong-box), which was too heavy to be carried about, and which commonly stood in the *tablinum*, the "office," as we should call it, of a Roman gentleman. Our poet is, of course, exaggerating.

90. **casus.** Here in the sense of chances, hazards. In the sense of "fall" *casus* could be said of the dice, but not so well of the *tabula;* i. e. the "board" on which the game was played.

posita. Staked. (Cp. Plaut. Curc. II. iii. 76; Virg. Ecl. iii. 35.) This need not imply that all the money was staked at once.

91. **dispensatore.** The steward, clerk, or cashier of a great Roman house. His functions are illustrated by the fact that the imperial *dispensator* was what we call the "treasurer."

videbis. This use of the future may be called the future of possibility. It is closely allied to Draeger's future of probability (Hist. Synt. i. § 136, p. 281), of which he gives several examples, but neither this passage nor Sat. v. 25 (*de conviva Corybanta videbis*); justly remarking that this use deserves a more searching analysis, especially in Cicero. Kühner (Ausf. Gr. ii. § 36, 4) calls it the future of general conceptions.

92. **armigero.** "Armor-bearer," "esquire," and used

in the mediæval Latin as a title of honor, like the English "Esq." On the parallel between the gaming-table and the battlefield. Macl. compares xiv. 5, *Bullatus (heres) parvoque eadem movet arma fritillo.*

simplexne furor. Is it not mere madness? M., following R. and H., takes this to mean "is it mere madness?" and paraphrases it by "'t is madness on madness," quoting xiv. 284, *non unus mentes agitat furor.* This seems to me far-fetched, and springs, it may be, from a lurking suspicion of the use of enclitic *ne* for *nonne.* But this should be really beyond suspicion. We have had it already in verse 1, and, in view of the great authority of the names cited, it may be well to refer to the following passages: Plaut. Pseud. 352, Bacch. 561, Trin. 129; Cic. ii. Tusc. xi. 26; v. ib. xii. 35; de Sen. x. 31; ii. de Fin. xvii. 49; Ter. And. prol. 17; Hor. i. Ep. xvii. 38. A larger list of passages may be found in Kühner (Ausf. Gr. ii. § 230, I. *a*), pp. 1002, 1003.

93. **perdere** (*per* + *do* = τίθημι). This is the active of which the passive is *pereo*, "to go" being correlative to "to put." So *abdo abeo, indo ineo, obdo obeo, subdo subeo, venundo veneo. Perdo* in good Latin is to lose by one's own act, while *amitto* is to lose in general; but *perdo* has quite ousted *amitto* in all the Romance languages.

reddere. Properly used of what is due. Lw.'s conclusion, that the player had "gambled away the cloak of the servant who accompanies him" ("cloak," be it remarked in passing, does not translate *tunica*, the taking of which would leave the man stark naked), — this conclusion, I say, appears to me quite impossible, in view of the magnitude of the stakes just referred to. I think

that Mr. Lewis has not understood H.'s note here. It was, of course, in a certain sense the master's *debitum* to keep his slaves at least in tunics.

94. **quis.** This pronoun-substantive is found quite often in apposition with a noun (here *avus*) in place of the pronoun-adjective *qui*, which would often carry a meaning not desired by the writer, as here "what sort of an ancestor." But the poet might have said, perhaps more strictly within the rule, *quis avorum.*

fercula. A cognate accusative. Horace (i. Ep. xv. 34) has *cenare patinas* (M.), and an unknown poet in Suet. Aug. 70 even has "*cenare divorum adulteria*," of a *cena* where Augustus and his friends represented the gods of Olympus. Literally "trays," and here pretty nearly "courses." But while our courses consist of but one dish, or at most a few of like character, the Roman *ferculum* was a medley of extremely various sorts. See, on this point, the famous dinner of Trimalchio, in Petron. Sat. 35, 36, Buecheler, but not forgetting, as antiquarians too often have done, that the whole description is a caricature. The early Romans had but two *fercula* at their meals (Serv. ad i. Aen. 726). See Hist. Augusta, Elagab. 25, for a dinner of twenty-two. P. & S. owe us a citation or two on the somewhat astounding statement that the top of the table "was let down after each course by a trap-door, and refilled." The thing was called *fĕrculum* because it was *carried* in. We have several descriptions of the processional manner in which it was done, and it is demonstrable that no such *habit* prevailed as P. & S. assert, or imply by the general terms of the statement.

95. **sportula.** Under the emperors, there existed in

Rome a numerous class of parasites, whose only occupation was to dance attendance on as many patrons as possible. Their only means of subsistence, in most cases, was the dole which they received from their patrons, and which represented the dinner formerly given by the *patronus* to all the *clientes* in waiting. Such a dinner actually served (*cena recta*) to all the clients of a great house was analogous to the open table of a mediæval lord, where all the retainers were fed at his expense. Such an arrangement becomes intolerable in a cultured age: an elegant Roman could not have endured it. Hence the *sportula*, which at first was, no doubt, a dole of cooked food; i. e. the client's dinner served to him in a little basket at the door, instead of being served at the table. When the clients, who in ancient times had been the working classes (cp. the anecdote of Philippus and the auctioneer, Hor. i. Ep. vii.), became mere parasites, wholly dependent on the bounty of the rich, the *sportula*, especially as it came to be given uncooked, was much preferred to the *cena recta;* for, while the client could eat but one dinner, he could carry away many *sportulae* from different houses, and, by selling what he did not need, could even raise money for expenses other than those of the table. There was, therefore, a great outcry when Domitian (Suet. Dom. 7) restored the *cena recta*, and the *sportula* was soon reëstablished. Long before this it had taken the form of a small dole of money, twenty-five *asses*, about twenty cents. I cannot trace the word *sportula* in this sense further back than the early imperial times. The application of it by Claudius (Suet. Claud. 21), where he called an informal gladiatorial show "*sportulam: quia primum daturus edixerat, velut ad subitam condictamque cenulam invitare se populum*, proves that it was used in the sense of a dole before that time. In Plaut. Men. I. iv. 1, it is simply a market-basket.

95, 96. **primo limine parva sedet.** It does not seem to me a necessary inference that the dole here referred to is a *sportula* in kind. *Parva* is probably a mere *epitheton*, and the passage may be regarded as figurative. *Limine* refers to the *vestibulum*, as we see from verse 124 (cp. also 132), for the client's *lectica* could not be inside the house.

togatae. In calling costume. The toga was the Roman's dress of ceremony. It ultimately became the badge of clientship (Friedlaender, Sittengeschichte, etc., i. 362). So, iii. 127, *si curet nocte togatus currere.* The question has been much discussed whether the *sportula* was taken at the time of the often very early *salutatio*, or morning call. Cp. *nocte*, in iii. 127, with verse 128 below. The custom probably varied. On the whole, it seems likely that it was taken at that time when given in money. The best authorities on the subject are Marquardt, Becker (Gallus), and Friedlaender. In the latter's Sittengeschichte, etc., i. 420, a larger bibliography of the subject will be found.

sedet. H. wrongly compares Hor. ii. Sat. ii. 73, *escae, quae simplex olim tibi sederit*, where *sedeo* only means "sit well on the stomach." It is certainly curious enough that the commentators of Horace have failed to see that the *esca* of that passage is no other than mother's milk.

97. **Ille.** The person charged with the distribution. That *ille* means the patron I cannot admit, although Ruperti is followed in this opinion by Macl., M., Si.,

and P. & S. Such work would be beneath the master's dignity, and was doubtless left to confidential servants, probably to the *dispensator* and the *vocator* mentioned in Mart. vii. 85, and called *praeco* in verse 99, and described in Hor. i. Ep. vi. 50–52. Cp. Cic. Mur. xxxvi. 77. H. decides for *praeco*. Those who take the view of R. can hardly have pictured the scene to their minds. The *patronus* unquestionably "received" in the *atrium* and *tablinum* (Friedl. i. 385), taking any favored visitor aside into the *alae* for a private chat. The *sportula* was given *in primo limine*, i. e. at the *vestibulum*, outside the house, where the patron could not possibly see who was served.

98. **falso nomine**. To get the *sportula* one had not only to be an actual caller (cp. verse 123), but to have a right to be one, i. e. to be inscribed in the list of the patron's visitors. That such lists were kept is proved by Sen. Ben. vi. 33, quoted by M., *istos tu libros, quos vix nomenclatorum complectitur aut memoria, aut manus, amicorum existimas esse? Non sunt isti amici, qui agmine magno ianuam pulsant, qui in primas et secundas admissiones digeruntur*, etc. In a city crowded with an impecunious plebs, no man, however rich, could afford to give ten sesterces to everybody who might choose to call. This verse suggests the trick that was sure to be attempted: that a client should try to perform the *officium* of the *salutatio* by proxy, and thus multiply his capacity for earning *sportulae*.

99. **praecone**. Hor. i. Ep. vi. 50–52. Plautus, Rud. II. iii. 5 (335), mentions a kind of domestic servant called *calator* (see note on verse 97), which is *nomenclator* with *nomen* omitted. *Calo* is the verb

from which we have *calendae*, so named from the custom of proclaiming the first day of the month. A *calator* is also mentioned in the Merc. V. ii. 11, and in the Pseud. IV. ii. 52. This last passage alone sheds light on the functions of a *calator*. A letter is presented to Ballio which names the bearer, "*Harpax calator meus*." Beside the letter, Harpax is also entrusted with a large sum of money, — the function of a confidential servant. The word was anciently identified with *praeco*, as appears from the fact that both are interchangeably used of the heralds or messengers of the various colleges of priests, Arval Brethren, Flamens, etc.

100. **Troiugenas**. Romans of noble birth, claiming descent from Aeneas and his companions. It is staggering to think of such persons, and even ladies sufficiently rich to ride in palankeens (121), as condescending to take the *sportula*. But the difficulty is lessened if we accept the suggestion of Friedlaender (i. 427) that the dole was taken as a mere formality, and passed over to one's own servants. The practice would thus be not more shocking than that so long prevalent in England, of allowing servants to expect, if not to exact, "tips" from visitors. Juvenal's satire would then be directed not so much against the habit of receiving the dole as against the meanness of converting it into a source of income (*quantum rationibus addat*, 118). The Romans took *au grand sérieux* the myth of their Trojan descent. On the strength of it all tribute was remitted to the people of Ilium by the Emperor Claudius (Suet. Claud. 25). LeFevre (see Dacier's introduction to Hor. iii. Od. iii.) finds in verses 57–67 of that ode an allusion to an inten-

tion on the part of Augustus to execute a plan, attributed by public rumor to Julius Caesar (Suet. Jul. 79), to transfer the capital of the empire to the Troad.

vexant. Cp. Mart. xii. 26, *sexaginta teras cum limina mane senator.*

101. The speech of the *dispensator* ends at *tribuno.* "*Sed libertinus prior adest,*" as Lw., with his usual good judgment, has seen, is the poet's parenthetical introduction to the freedman's objection. Whatever may be justly argued from other facts, I do not think that *nobiscum* proves anything about Juvenal's social position, as M. and P. & S. have maintained. All literature is full of such expressions, which the authors never meant us to take *au pied de la lettre.* It might, at most, be justly inferred that Juvenal did not claim to be a *Troiugena.*

102. **libertinus.** We learn from Suet. Claud. 24 that in the censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus (B. C. 312), and long after, *libertinus* meant *filius liberti.* In the literary age the words were distinct in use rather than in sense, the same person being *libertinus* or *libertina* in respect of social position, and *libertus* or *liberta* in relation to the former master. Thus Horace speaks of himself as *libertino patre natus;* i. e. of a father of the social class of *libertini.* (Cp. Acts ix. 6.)

104. **molles fenestrae.** The holes in the ear-lobes for earrings. Juvenal stigmatizes this Oriental habit as effeminate (*mollis*). To-day, the least effeminate classes in southern Europe, hardy sailors and lawless banditti, affect it; the really effeminate men have given it up.

105. **quinque tabernae.** Five shops give him

400,000 sesterces a year. It has been objected that this is an enormous rental for five shops. The objection fails if we do not limit *parant* to "rent." Five shops, or possibly houses of ill-fame, like the one kept by another Syrophoenician (viii. 158–162), might well bring him that amount in profits. H., following a suggestion of L., thinks that the *quinque tabernae* are those mentioned by Livy, xxvi. 27, and Macl. and Lw. seem to be of his mind. To this view there is the serious objection that, as was long ago pointed out by Drachenborch on that passage, Livy has expressly distinguished the *quinque tabernae* from the *tabernae argentariae*, the money-exchange, while speaking of them as public buildings. The burden of proof lies on H. to show how five public *tabernae*, which were not the Exchange, could give revenue to a Syrian freedman.

106. **quadringenta.** That is, the *census equester.*

purpura maior. The *latus clavus*, or broader purple stripe worn on the tunic by senators, priests, and others to whom the honor was granted. The Equites wore a narrower stripe. In either case, this border was so woven into or applied to the tunic as to run perpendicularly in front. That *maior*, and not *maius*, is the true reading seems certain. The common punctuation with the interrogation-mark after *ores* makes the freedman state his income as 400,000 sesterces, and say in the same breath that he is richer than Pallas and Licinus, men of colossal wealth. With the interrogation after *Licinis*, where Jahn has judiciously placed it, we have no such difficulty, for we then have in 106–109 nothing more than a hypothetical case to prove the worthlessness of rank without wealth.

107. **Laurenti.** Near the coast of Latium. The region was a fine grazing country in Juvenal's time (Plin. ii. Ep. xvii. 3).

108. **conductas.** That is, "on shares." This was regarded by the Roman jurists, not absurdly, as a form of hiring (*conductio, conductum*).

Corvinus. Here merely the type of the highest nobility. The name was first an *agnomen* of the Messalla branch of the *gens Valeria*, but had become, like so many other *agnomina*, a second *cognomen*.

109. **Pallante et Licinis.** Pallas was a freedman of the Emperor Claudius. Tacitus (An. xii. 53) rates his fortune at three hundred million sesterces (eleven and a quarter million dollars, but worth much more in purchasing power). Licinus (cp. xiv. 306), or Licinius, as the scholiast has it, was a freedman of Julius Caesar, whom Persius also takes as the typical rich man (Pers. ii. 36). He was either a German or a Gaul by birth. Caesar made him his *dispensator*, and manumitted him. Augustus made him *procurator* (provincial treasurer) of Gaul, which province he plundered. He died in the reign of Tiberius, enormously wealthy. The plural is used for the class. See note to 73.

110. **sacro.** The office of tribune of the plebs did not quite die out before the fifth century. It conferred inviolability on the holder, and it was on this account that Augustus and his successors, who as patricians could not legally be tribunes of the plebs, had themselves invested with a quasi-tribuneship, the so-called *tribunicia potestas*.

111. **pedibus albis.** Pliny, in a passage (xxxv. N. H. lviii.) where he plainly alludes to Pallas (cp. Tac. xii. An. 53), says that the Romans chalked the feet of those slaves, offered for sale on the *catasta*, who were imported across seas, *venalium trans mare advectorum*; not of all slaves, as P. & S. have it. This custom may possibly have originated in the case of Cretan slaves (*creta* being a white earth, used as we use chalk), and we may be allowed to conjecture that this whitening of the feet was meant as a warning to the buyer that the slave must not be expected to know Latin. A slave born *ad Euphratem* would be thus marked. (Cp. Ov. i. Am. viii. 64, *despice gypsati crimen inane pedis.*)

116. **crepitat.** The scholiast explains that storks had their nests in the temple of Concord, probably on the roof. In the rural districts of Holland a sort of veneration is felt for the "ooyevaar," or stork. A cart-wheel, or some such contrivance, is placed on the roof for their convenience, and their huge nests may be seen perched on many roofs of farmhouses, and even in the towns, on the edge of a gable or near a chimney. "It is considered a good omen to a dwelling and its inhabitants if the stork select it for its habitation, and to kill one of these birds is looked upon in hardly any other light than a crime." (Murray's Handbook of Northern Germany, 16th ed. p. 20.) Macl. quotes John of Salisbury, *ciconia, quoniam avis Concordiae est, concordiam invenit et concordiam facit.*

117. **summus honor.** M. takes the words literally, i. e. to mean "the consuls." The V. S. makes them mean "senators." I think that Mart. x. 10, quoted by M. and Lw., is decisive for "the consuls."

119, 120. These verses would seem to sustain Friedlaender's suggestion, spoken of in the note to verse 100,

that the rich were expected to take the dole, and pass it to their own clients. If instead of this they appropriate it to their own use, what will the poor clients (*comites*) do for the necessaries of life? But I am more inclined to think that the poet only means to show how naturally the poor would be eager for the *sportula*, when even the rich count upon it: *quid facient* = *quanto id magis facient.*

120. **fumus.** That is, fuel. Cp. *ignis emendus* (134), and iii. 249, 250, *nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo? centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.*

121. **lectica.** Collectively.

122. As to the presence of women rich enough to use a *lectica*, the epithet *densissima* seems to forbid the explanation that it was only the sick or pregnant who were thus carried about. As such visits by women are an anomaly in Roman manners, we may perhaps risk the conjecture that the dole of the married client (see Macl. on the verse) was double, and that it was merely as proof of his married estate that the client had himself so accompanied. See Friedl. i. 426.

124. **sellam.** See note to verse 65. The *sella muliebris* of Suet. Otho 5 is, no doubt, intended.

125, 126. The speech after *inquit* is variously punctuated and distributed. Jahn and others ascribe it all to the client, and mark *moraris* as a question. I think that the best sense is made by the pointing which I have adopted in the text, and by taking *moraris* as a querulous assertion. (So H.) *Quiescet* is the future of probability (see note on 91), still idiomatic in Italian and some other languages. *Vexare*, "to disturb by

arousing from sleep," is used again metaphorically in ii. 43, q. v.

127. **Ipse dies.** The commentators vouchsafe no explanation of *ipse*. I suggest the following. The *salutatio*, including the *sportula* when given in money, took place very early, — before sunrise, which was the beginning of the Roman *dies*. It was *quasi dies*, because the social life of the city was already astir; but the other business described in the following lines occupied the day proper, — *ipse dies*. It is true that in verse 127 the *sportula* seems to be included in the work of the day, but this is said, as it were, resumptively, *sportula, deinde* being equivalent to *post sportulam*. As to the early hour of the *salutatio* the testimony of Pliny the younger is very important, as he is a contemporary, and not writing satire. He speaks of the *salutatio* as *officia antelucana* (Plin. iii. Ep. xii. 2). Our poet in iii. 126, *nocte . . . currere*, and v. 21–23, *tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem sideribus dubiis*, is to the same effect.

128. **Apollo.** Probably the Apollo flaying Marsyas which Horace mentions in i. Sat. vi. 120. By so long standing in the forum of Augustus, where lawsuits were argued, Apollo, the poet suggests, had become quite a lawyer.

129. **triumphales.** Scil. *statuas*. Statues of the great Roman generals were placed by Augustus in the porticoes around his forum (H.). Later emperors, who feared to permit any subject to celebrate a triumph, as a preliminary to which he would have to be saluted as *imperator* by his troops, found it convenient to satisfy the ambition of their generals by granting them

the *insignia triumphalia* and the erection of a statue in the costume of a *triumphator* (Tac. Ag. 39, 40, xv. An. 72; and cp. i. An. 72, ii. An. 52). This honor, like all the rest, was afterward made worthless by being bestowed on such slaves as Tigellinus (Tac. xv. An. 72).

130. **titulos**, etc. The words *Aegyptius atque Arabarches* are to be taken as actually engraved on the pedestal of the statue, and for this purpose the whole inscription is to be regarded as one indeclinable noun in apposition with *titulos*. "Egypt," says Mayor, "from the Nile to the Red Sea, bore the name of Arabia; the governor of Thebais (upper Egypt) was called Arabarches, on the analogy of Asiarch." Cicero applies the name to Pompey in jest (Att. ii. 17 § 3). That such statues were inscribed with *tituli* is clear from Suet. Galba 2, quoted in note on ii. 145, where a part of such an inscription is given. Here and in Cicero some MSS. have *Alabarches*, but no one has proved that this was anything more than another spelling. How foreign words are apt to suffer in this respect may be judged of by the word "dragoman" (Arabic تُرجُمَان, turjumān), which has over thirty different forms in the modern languages, and not one of them near enough to the original to make it obvious that it is closely allied to the familiar Hebrew word "Targum."

131. **non tantum meiere**. *sed amplius quid*, for which H. refers the curious to Hor. i. Sat. viii. 38.

132. **vestibulis** (Greek *προθυρα*). A space before the house-door, separated from the street by an iron grating. The derivation is from *ve* (large) and *stabulum;* not from *vestis*. Even Nonius, *sub voce*, derives it from *stare*. The *vestibulum*, originally a shed in front of the house, must have been closely analogous to the *αἴθουσα* of the Homeric house, which also had stalls (*stabula*) for cattle on the inner face of its front wall, — in fact, an everted *αἴθουσα*.

veteres. Cp. iii. 124, *tempora longi servitii*. For the joining of *veteres* (a permanent quality) with *lassi* (a momentary condition) by means of a conjunction no reason need be sought beyond the unwillingness of the artificial poets of the silver age to join two *epitheta* with one noun, a scruple to which many of their most strained constructions and inversions must be referred.

133. **vota**. So in Sat. v. 18 the dinner is called *votorum summa*.

136. **rex**. A person of quality, a rich man, a patron. So in innumerable passages from Plaut. Asin. V. ii. 69, and Ter. Phorm. II. ii. 24, to Mart. II. xviii. 5.

tantum ipse. As in 95, *secreto cenavit*.

137, 138. Out of so many fine old tables (cp. 75, and xi. 117–126) they use but one, for they dine alone; but at that one table they consume an estate at one meal.

140. **gula**. Both "gullet" and "gluttony," which gives *quanta* a meaning somewhat difficult to render.

141. **ponit** = *apponit*. The poets are fond of using the simple for the compound verbs. *Pono*, however, is used for *appono*, though not very frequently, in the best age. See Cato, R. R. 79; Varro, R. R. iii. 6 § 6; Hor. ii. Sat. ii. 23, etc. Juvenal has it in v. 51, 85, 135 (in the last of which *pone ad Trebium* stands in a sort of tmesis for *appone Trebio*), 146; xi. 84, 109.

142–146. An imitation of Persius, iii. 98 seqq. The dangerous practice (144) of taking very hot baths after

eating was very common under the emperors. It was thought to stimulate digestion, dissipate intoxication, and renew the appetite. The regular time for the bath was before dinner.

143. **crudum**. Undigested. Both Greeks and Romans regarded digestion as a process akin to cooking (*coquo*, πέπτω).

pavonem. Not named here as an unusual dish, but as particularly indigestible. It was, in fact, common enough among the rich (Hor. ii. Sat. ii. 23 (M.); Cic. ad Fam. ix. 18 § 3). It was first introduced by Cicero's rival, Hortensius, when he was made an augur (Varro, R. R. iii. 6 § 6).

145. On the nonchalant gossip about such a death, M. quotes a passage of Cicero (ad Fam. xv. 17 § 2), which is worth giving here in full: *Nos hic . . . D. Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus: alii a latronibus alii cruditate dicebant: populus non curabat: combustum enim esse constabat.*

fabula. "A good story." For this sense see Hor. i. Ep. xiii. 9.

146. **iratis**. Because the sudden death cheats them of expected legacies. Cp. Pers. vi. 33, 34, *cenam funeris heres negleget, iratus quod rem curtaveris.*

147. **moribus**. Bad morals, as in Cicero *tempus* often means *tempus iniquum;* e. g. ad Fam. i. 6 § 2; i. 7 § 2.

149. **in praecipiti**. Pers. iii. 41, 42, *imus, imus praecipites.* So Hor. i. Ep. xviii. 21, *praeceps alea*, and ii. Sat. iii. 293 (Lw.), *casus medicusve levarit aegrum ex praecipiti.*

150. **sinus**. Cicero had said *pandere vela orationis* (iv. Tusc. 5 § 9), M. For *sinus* in this sense see Tib. I. iii. 38, *effusum ventis praebuerat sinum.*

151–153. **priorum . . . simplicitas**. The double genitive is not objectionable, because one genitive does not depend on the other. See this subject fully discussed in Kühner, Ausf. Gr. ii. § 83, 3, Obs. 2; ii. § 132. Obs. 4, with an example of a triple genitive from Caes. ii. B. G. xvii. 2. Occasionally two genitives are found depending one on the other. See Drachenborch ad Liv. XXV. xv. § 11.

151. Observe the hiatus in the arsis of the fourth foot.

152. **animo flagrante**. See note on verse 70.

153. **simplicitas**. Cp. ii. 18; Hor. i. Sat. iii. 63. Straightforwardness. Tac. Dial. Orat. 40, *notabilis eloquentia alumna licentiae, quam stulti libertatem vocabant.* It is this *libertas* that he does not dare to call by name.

153, 154. Jahn has *cuius . . . an non?* in italics, on the ground that it is a quotation from Lucilius, which in the absence of the original cannot be proved. M. also has the interrogation after *simplicitas* and *nomen.* Equally good judges, including H. and Macl., take *cuius* as a relative (scil. *simplicitatis*). I prefer the latter view. L. Müller, De Re Metrica, 336, 337, quoted by M., has shown that in Lucilius' time *audeo* was always scanned āūdĕō, and could not therefore stand in hexameter. But apart from this, though Lucilius might afford to brave the wrath of Lupus, or Mucius (cp. Pers. i. 114, 115, L. R.), he would hardly be so foolish as to threaten the whole community. These verses therefore mean: "I wish that I dared to imitate the freedom of

Lucilius, to which I dare not even give its true name (liberty). It mattered little to him whether Mucius liked it or not, for he had nothing to fear; but satirize Tigellinus, and you will suffer."

154. **Mucius.** P. Mucius Scaevola, cos. B. C. 133, an enemy of Scipio Africanus the younger, and therefore of Lucilius, who, under such protection, could well afford to assail him. (Cp. Hor. ii. Sat. i. 62 seqq.)

155. **pone.** A word of the artists, as R. points out. See Pers. i. 70, and Hor. A. P. 34.

Tigellinum. Sophonius Tigellinus, a Sicilian, and a favorite with Nero on account of his extreme viciousness. He inspired Nero with his phenomenal impurities and cruelties (Tac. xiv. An. 51). No just idea of his fiendish character can be given here. We must refer the reader to An. xiv. and two succeeding books. In spite of his crimes he contrived to make his peace with Galba; but his sin overtook him in Otho's brief reign (Tac. i. H. 72). He was dead when Juvenal published these verses. (Cp. note on 49.)

pone . . . lucebis. M. tells us that the absence of a conjunction between the hypothesis thus expressed and the conclusion is the rule in Cicero. Kühner (ii. § 151, 6) says more generally that *et* is inserted only in the ante-classic and post-classic age, and by the poets.

taeda, etc. At the games given by Nero to the people, condemned persons were burnt alive after they had been wrapped in coats of pitch or wax, or clothed in shirts saturated with inflammable substances. They thus served as ghastly torches to illuminate the scene. Such victims were bound to a stake, and fastened by the throat to hinder them from bending their bodies. This

is doubtless the same punishment elsewhere called *tunica molesta* (viii. 235; cp. Mart. X. xxv. 5).

157. No verse of our author has given the commentators more trouble than this one. Various conjectural readings and many interpretations have been offered. The best modern authorities are divided only upon the last word but one, whether *deducit* or *deducis*. M. makes out a pretty good case for his claim that the subject of *deducit* may be *taeda*, and sees an allusion to the supposed fact that these victims were burned alive while buried to their waists in a ditch, like a certain Fadius who is mentioned in a letter of Asinius Pollio to Cicero (Cic. ad Fam. x. 32 § 3). But *sulcus* is not the equivalent of *fossa*, to which there would be no metrical objection; nor is it likely that they would be thus buried if they were to serve as torches. In Gérôme's great picture, "The Christian Martyrs," they are represented as raised several feet above the ground. The constructive imagination of a great painter is sometimes of more value than much erudition. Others abandon the idea of punishment altogether, and think that *sulcum deducis arena* only means "you lose your labor." (Cp. vii. 48, *in pulvere sulcos ducimus.*) If *deducit* were adopted, I should refer it to the streak of light cast by a tall flame across the bloody or otherwise damp sand of the arena; but, after much hesitation, I feel that the omission of the relative is unlikely (a conviction which suggested to Porson his elegant conjecture, *et latum media sulcum quae ducit harena*), and that the tense of *deducis* is, on the whole, the less serious difficulty. The poet suddenly transports himself to the time after the burning, a change of tense not a whit more violent than Virgil's *dat Dido* in Aen.

ix. 266, for *dedit*, or ix. 361, *quae mittit* for *miserat*, or again Hor. i. Sat. vi. 13, *fŭgit* for *fūgit*. See Bentley, ad loc. If the verse be not an early marginal note (in which case *deducit* would need no relative), I incline to Jahn's reading given in the text; and I think that the reference is to the dragging away of the body after the burning, since the *tunica*, however impregnated with combustibles, while it would kill the victim, could not possibly consume his body.

158. **aconita.** In the plural aconite plants (Virg. ii. G. 152), and also poison, as here, in Sat. x. 25, and in Ov. i. Met. 147. In the singular it appears to mean only the plant. The scholium attributes this crime to Tigellinus. On the value of scholia, evidently suggested by the text, see note on 35, 36. Daily experience shows how easily learners, and often their teachers, are satisfied with such mere ghosts of elucidations; and the ancient scholiasts were made of the same stuff.

158, 159. **vehatur . . . plumis.** That is, in a *lectica* furnished with a feather-bed. See notes to 32 and 64. Verres' *pulvinus* (Cic. Verr. V. xi. § 27, M.) was stuffed with roses in a diaphanous tick.

159. **despiciet.** Actually and metaphorically.

160. **contra.** This preposition in the sense of *obviam*, with a verb of motion, is exceedingly rare in the golden age (cp. Plaut. Rud. I. iv. 22), although it ultimately ousted *obviam* in all the Romance languages, — a pretty sure sign, in connection with its occurrence in Plautus, that it was always in use in the mouth of the people.

compesce labellum. As in the statutes of Harpocrates and of Angerona. Causaeus Mus. Rom. I. ii. pl. 33, 34, 35. The index finger was used, as with us.

161. **erit.** That is, *habebitur, illi pro accusatore erit.*

163. **committas,** "to pit." Tac. Germ. x. § 20, *eius gentis cum qua bellum est captivum cum electo popularium sŭorum . . . . committunt.* On the construction of *licet* with the simple subjunctive see Kühner, ii. § 221, Obs. 1, where, however, full justice is not done to the subject. I regard this subjunctive as a jussive, and the *licet* as originally parenthetical.

percussus. By Paris, who shot him in his vulnerable heel, while he courted Polyxena in the temple of Minerva.

164. **Hylas** (Virg. vi. Ecl. 43, 44). He was of the expedition of the Argonauts, and was forcibly abducted by water-nymphs while fetching water for the ship. See the story in Val. Flac. Arg. iii. 535–563, with variants.

165. **stricto.** Horace, ii. Sat. i. 40, 41, uses *destringo*. The opposite is *vagina tectus* (ib.), or *conditus* (Quint.).

166. **infremuit.** Perfect of repeated actions with *quoties, quum, simulac, si, ubi* (Madvig, Gr. § 335 b. Obs. 1). The verb is rare. It occurs once in Virgil, Aen. x. 761; twice in Sil. Ital. iii. 230, xi. 247; once in Val. Flac. i. 707; twice in Claudian, ii. In Ruf. 385, iv. Cons. Hon. 112; once in Statius, ii. Achil. 180; and twice in Prudent. Perist. iii. 31, 127. It stands everywhere in the 3d pers. sing. pf. indic., except in the second passage in Prudentius, where it stands in the 3d sing. pres. indic.

frigida. As the result of anxiety, as we speak of being in a cold sweat (*sudant*, 167). So Horace calls an alarming piece of news *frigidus rumor*, ii. Sat. vi. 50. On *sudans* see Hor. i. Sat. ix. 10; Pers. iii. 47; Virg. iii. Aen. 175; Ov. v. Met. 632.

169. **anime.** Several editions have *animo*, which is appropriate enough with *voluta*. *Animante tuba*, as H. justly observes, cannot be shown to have been Latin in Juvenal's day. It is the reading of the codex Pithoeanus.

ante tubas. That is, the *classicum*.

duelli. The older form for *belli*, easily understood by comparing *duo* with *bis*. It is frequent in ancient formulae, e. g. Liv. I. xxxii. 12, *puro pioque duello (res) quaerendas censeo*. Cp. Liv. XX. x. 3, XXXVI. ii. 3. Horace uses the form repeatedly; Ovid but once, vi. F. 201.

171. According to Cic. ii. Leg. xxiii. § 58, the laws of the twelve tables forbade intramural burial or cremation. Hence the tombs are found on the roads leading out of Rome, though in some cases now included within the walls as enlarged by Aurelian. The text was, *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito*. The Vestals were excepted, even when buried alive for unchastity (Serv. ad Aen. xi. 206), and the emperors, "*quia legibus non tenentur*." Si., following H. and M., says that the Flaminian and Latin ways are specified because Paris was buried on the one and Domitian on the other, and cites Suet. Dom. 17. But Suetonius does not say that Domitian was buried on the Latin way, but says, on the contrary, that after the funeral celebrated by his nurse, Phyllis, at her *suburbanum* on that road, she secretly conveyed his ashes (*reliquias*) into the temple of the Flavian gens, which Domitian had built (Suet. Dom. 5) in the original Forum Romanum, the temple "of the three columns" of the guidebooks, and mingled them with the ashes of Julia, the daughter of Titus, whom she had also nursed, and whom Domitian had loved not wisely, but too well.

INTRODUCTION TO SATIRE II

I have already intimated, in the Introduction to Satire I., that it is unsafe to ascribe the composition of any of Juvenal's satires, as a whole, to any narrow compass of time, because they all bear internal evidence of having been written piecemeal. In confirmation of this, I may quote here, for whatever it is worth, a passage from the Life of Juvenal, which is usually published with the Lives of Suetonius: "*mox magna frequentia . . . bis ac ter auditus est, ut ea quoque quae prima fecerat inferciret novis scriptis*." But with the above reservation we may ascribe this satire to a date not earlier nor very much later than the year 97: see note to verse 29. This is confirmed by the allusion to the conquest of the Orcades in verses 160, 161, where I have given some reasons for a date about 100 A. D.

This satire, in spite of its repulsive subject, is one of Juvenal's strongest efforts. It contains many passages not easily surpassed for energy and spirit.

NOTES TO SATIRE II

1. **Ultra Sauromatas.** "To the ends of the earth." The Sarmatae occupied the vast region between the Vistula and the Don. The Greek form Σαυρομάται is adopted because the Latin *Sārmătae* cannot stand in the verse.

1, 2. **glacialem Oceanum.** Tac. G. 45, *Trans Suionas aliud mare pigrum ac prope immotum ;* and Lucan i. 18, *Scythico glacialem frigore pontum.*

2. **audent.** Scil. *loqui*, or *muttire.*

3. Cic. ii. Fin. xxviii. § 90, *Sed qui ad voluptatem omnia referens, vivit ut Gallonius, loquitur ut Frugi ille Piso, non audio ; nec enim eum quod sentiat dicere existimo.* See also Mart. i. 97 ; ix. 28.

Curios. On the plural, see note to i. 73. It is not necessary to supply *esse*, as *simulo* is used with the direct object, even an adjective. So Liv. XXV. viii. § 12, [*Hannibal*] *aegrum simulabat*, and Ov. Rem. Am. 493, *sanum simula.* M. Curius Dentatus, the conqueror of Pyrrhus at Beneventum, B. C. 275, was justly regarded as a model of civic virtue. See Cic. de Sen. 55 ; Mart. VI. lxiv. 2.

Bacchanalia vivunt. A bold expression modeled on the cognate accusative. So xii. 128, *vivat vel Nestora totum* (as long as Nestor). Cp. Hor. i. Sat. v. 63, *Cyclopa saltare*, and see many more examples in Kühner, ii. § 72, c. Cp. i. 94 note. The Bacchanalia were celebrated triennially, at night, until the great opportunities which they offered for licentiousness caused the Senate to forbid them by a decree which is extant (Liv. XXXIX. xviii., B. C. 186). *Bacchanal facere* is used as early as Plautus of a drunken debauch.

4. **indocti.** Cp. Horace's fling at the Stoics in i. Sat. iii. 115–142.

omnia. We should not supply *loca.* The neuter adjective is used substantively, and resembles the vague "tout cela" of the French.

4, 5. **gypso Chrysippi.** C. was a disciple of Zeno, the true founder of the Stoic school, spoken of as *pater Chrysippus* by the Stoics of Horace's day. Diog. Laert. says of him in book vii., quoting a current verse, Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά. So Cic. iv. Acad. § 75, *Chrysippum qui fulcire putatur porticum Stoicorum.* The practice of placing busts of authors and philosophers in libraries was universal. See Hor. i. Sat. iv. 22 ; Suet. Tib. 70 ; Mart. ix. 1. Asinius Pollio is named as having introduced the fashion (Plin. xxxv. N. H. ii.). Pliny tells us that these were often imaginary portraits. Such must have been the image of Pittacus, who was one of the seven sages, and died about 579 B. C.

6. **similem.** Scil. *veri.*

7. **archetypos Cleanthas.** Probably original busts of Cleanthes, not reproductions ; but the adjective is rare. Cleanthes was a pupil of Zeno and the teacher of Chrysippus. That the reference is to authentic *books* of Cleanthes is not likely. Books were not kept on shelves, but in a *cista* (iii. 206) or in *capsae* (x. 117) by the poor, and in *armaria* (Plin. ii. Ep. xvii. § 8), *loculamenta* (Sen. Tranq. An. 9), or *foruli* (iii. 219) by the rich.

pluteum. Either the *sponda interior* of the *lectus*

lucubratorius, or the top of the bookcases, which may have been finished to represent a battlement. The V. S. has *armarium*. The meaning "shelf," given in the dictionaries, must be regarded as doubtful. The original meaning is a low wall or balustrade. As Gesner (Thes. s. v.) observes, the idea is always of something perpendicular, not horizontal. So in Du Cange, s. v. *gabia*, *pluteus* = *carchesium*, the fortified maintop. In Mart. VIII. xliv. 13, if *pluteum* stands for a bed, it does so as a part (the *sponda interior*, which was only the back of a sofa) for the whole. This is certainly the meaning in Mart. III. xci. 10, *namque puer pluteo vindice tutus erat*. In Pers. i. 106, the back of the *lectus lucubratorius* suits the sense better than anything else. See also Lindemann, Corp. Gram. Lat. ad Paul Diac. (ii. 590), where ἀνάκλιτον and ἐγγώνιον (the arm) τρικλίνου are equivalents from the glossaries. The *plutei* mentioned in the Digest may well have been something resembling a wainscot or high coping of stucco surrounding the room, and bearing on its shelf-like top a row of statuettes. An old glossary gives the equivalent γυψοπλασία (Lind. loc. cit.). It is a fair question whether *pluteum* or *Cleanthas* is the object of *iubeo*. In a certain sense the *pluteus* would guard what was placed on it; but it makes just as good sense if we bid Cleanthes stand guard over the *pluteus*. If anything, *iubeo* suits a personal object better than an inanimate one, at least in connection with an active verb. Out of nineteen cases collected in Juvenal's works, I find that fifteen have an animate object, the accompanying verb being in the active voice.

9. **tristibus.** "Sanctimonious."

11. **setae.** The effeminate were at pains to "remove superfluous hair." The neglect of this practice was meant to suggest a manly spirit. So in viii. 114–116, *resinata iuventus*, said of an unwarlike people, as the hair was removed by adhesive plasters.

12. **atrocem.** In a good sense. So Hor. ii. Od. i. 23, 24, *Et cuncta terrarum subacta, Praeter atrocem animum Catonis.*

16. **Peribomius.** Unknown.

16, 17. **fatis inputo.** "I lay it to his stars." *Inputo* is a word of the book-keepers.

17. **morbum.** "Vice," as in Hor. i. Sat. vi. 30, of vanity; ii. Sat. iii. 121, of avarice; i. Od. xxxvii. 10, of lasciviousness, as here. I would not, however, too lightly dismiss the literal interpretation of *morbum* as a physical disease, for nothing could more naturally affect the gait of a man than the *mariscae* of verse 13. Peribomius is probably the subject of *fatetur;* yet, in that case, we must take *hunc* as also referring to him, and a personal object with *inputo* is somewhat strange. *Fateor* is found as a passive (Cic. ii. Leg. Agr. § 57), and, if we so take it here, *hunc* goes with *morbum*, and the subject of *fatetur* is *qui* [*morbus*].

18. **simplicitas.** "Guilelessness." Cp. i. 153.

furor. Probably "insanity;" for, as that cannot be avoided, it must be laid to the fates. Some interpreters translate "even anger must forgive them," *furor* having that meaning occasionally, as in Syrus Mimus, 268. *Furor fit laesa saepius patientia.*

19, 20. **verbis Herculis.** Alluding to the story of the choice of Hercules as told by Prodicus (Xen. Mem. ii. 1), Brit. But in that story Hercules really says

nothing worth quoting, unless his final choice makes the words of Virtue his own. It seems safer to render "words worthy of Hercules."

21, 22. Sextus and Varillus are unknown.

23. **loripedem.** There is no little doubt as to the precise meaning of this word. The V. S. explains it as *solutum pedibus, aut curvis*, which only shows that he had no certain knowledge. In this passage it is opposed to *rectus*. In x. 308, it is classed with personal defects that mar beauty. In Plaut. Poen. III. i. 7, it is mentioned as causing a slow gait. In Plin. vii. N. H. ii., *anguium modo loripedes*, and v. N. H. viii., *quibus serpendo ingredi natura est*, it gives to the gait a serpentine movement. In the second passage Pliny is translating *Himantopodes* (thong-footed). The Gloss. Philox. gives κυλλοποδίων, which often, as in Il. xviii. 371, *et passim*, merely means lame. The word means, in general, one who has little control of his feet in walking, so that he seems to jerk them about like thongs of leather as he walks.

24. **tulerit.** This subjunctive "questions what may or may not be done, meaning the opposite of the question" (Madv. Gr. § 353). "Hypothetical subjunctive with an interrogative word, especially *quis*, implying a negative" (Roby, 1538 b.). Cp. Kühner, ii. § 46, 2.

25. **misceat.** Lw., after R., quotes Liv. IV. iii. 6, *quid tandem est cur coelum ac terras misceant*, with the comment that "Livy puts it into the mouth of a speaker four centuries and a half before Christ, when it was doubtless quite unknown," — which would be extremely interesting, if it were proved. R. also quotes Lucian, Prometheus, τῇ γῇ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναμεμίχθαι.

26, 27. *Verres*, the plunderer of Sicily; *Milo*, defended by Cicero for the homicide of Clodius; *Clodius*, Cicero's enemy, notorious for his violation of the mysteries of the Bona Dea in Caesar's house, whither an adulterous intrigue had taken him; *Cethegus*, a fellow-conspirator with Catiline.

28. **tabulam.** Scil. *proscriptionis*. Sulla proscribed the partisans of Marius in B. C. 81. The triumvirs Octavianus, Antonius, and Lepidus (H., Lw.) are called Sulla's disciples, because they imitated the example of his proscription in B. C. 43. Macl. thinks that it is the first triumvirate that is alluded to.

29. **qualis.** That is, equally inconsistent.

nuper. Probably qualifies *pollutus*, not *erat;* i. e. he revived these laws while fresh from that crime. We may thus fix the date of this satire as not earlier than the death of Domitian (September 18, A. D. 96); for I cannot think that Juvenal would have said *erat* if Domitian had been alive, nor very much later, since, as H. suggests, the admirable energy of this passage speaks loudly for the theory that it was composed while the crimes of the tyrant were still fresh in the remembrance of poet and reader.

tragico. Julia, the daughter of Titus, was seduced by her uncle, Domitian (Suet. Dom. 22), who had refused her hand when he might have married her. The connection is called tragic either on account of the murder of her husband, Sabinus, or, more likely, because it suits the poet to regard it as an incest comparable to those which made the ground-work of several of the Greek tragedies. Domitian, in the face of his own lewdness, revived the strict ancient laws against lasciviousness (Suet. Dom. 7, 8). See Plin. iv. Ep. xi.

30. I have added a comma after *amaras*, which gives *omnibus* to *timendas*. This greatly improves the sense, as after *omnibus*, which means "all mortals," the *atque* introduces an unexpected and very effective addition.

33. **solveret**. Suetonius (Dom. 22) relates that Julia's death (A. D. 83, Dio Cass.) was caused by "malpractice," *ut etiam causa mortis extiterit, coactae conceptum a se abigere*. Cp. Plin. iv. Ep. xi.

34. **vitia ultima**. That is, the most vicious persons.

34, 35. **fictos Scauros**. On the plural, see i. 73 note. I presume that Juvenal does not mean "such hypocrites as Scaurus," though history would perhaps bear him out in taking that view of the man's character, but that he takes him at the fictitious valuation placed on him by Cicero and others of the aristocratic party. Cp. Hor. i. Od. xii. 37; Val. Max. III. vii. 8.

35. **remordent**. Hor. Epod. vi. 4, *et me remorsurum petis*. The verb generally means "to cause remorse."

36. **Laronia**. Named by our poet only in this satire. A person of like name is mentioned by Martial, ii. 32 (H.).

37. **lex Iulia**. Called in the Insts. of Justin. iv. tit. 18 § 4, *Lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis*, originally made by Augustus, and reënacted by Domitian. See Suet. Aug. 34, who calls it *de adulteriis et de pudicitia*, and, on the reënactment, Mart. vi. 7 and 22. See, too, Prudent. Perist. x. 203. From the passage in the Institutes it would appear that the law also punished *eos qui cum masculis nefandam libidinem exercere audent;* but this may have been a later addition to the law, for if the *lex Iulia* covered these offenses Laronia need have invoked no other.

38. **atque**. In the Codex Medicaeus of Virg. x. Aen. 742, we read, *Atque subridens mixta Mezentius ira*, which reading, since the verse will not scan, is supposed to stand for *ad quê* (*quem*) or *ad quae*. It is assumed that this verse should conform to the one in Virgil, and L., R., Macl., Lw., and others edit accordingly. Jahn retains the reading of P., *atque ita*, and I think he is right. The two passages differ materially in that the speech of Mezentius is not preceded by any other action on his part, as the *ita* (*locuta est*) in ours is preceded by *non tulit*.

39. **pudorem**. With *pudorem habere*, which is not Ciceronian, compare the equivalent, *sit pudor*, with a dative expressed or supplied, which is the more frequent construction. So *metum habere*, Prop. III. xi. (IV. x.) 6. Juvenal has *pudorem habere* in vi. 357; *pudor est* in iii. 154, xiv. 178, in the latter passage with the genitive. Petron. Sat. p. 96 (66, Buecheler), *maledic illam versibus, ut habeat pudorem*. Cp. Italian *aver vergogna*, French *avoir honte*, Spanish *tener vergüenza*.

40. **tertius Cato**. The other two being M. Cato the Censor and M. Cato surnamed Uticensis, both preëminent for their virtues. Macleane's suggestion that Domitian's censorship is alluded to is groundless and misleading. Laronia ironically calls her interlocutor "a third Cato," just as Shylock, in all earnest, calls Portia "a Daniel come to judgment." Cp. Mart. ix. 28.

e caelo. A quasi-proverbial phrase. Cp. Tib. I. iii. 89, 90. Tibullus uses no preposition. We should expect *de*, but Juvenal has *e*, both here and in xi. 27.

This phrase conveyed no other idea to the Roman but that of suddenness. The Manes were believed to dwell in the earth beneath, not in heaven above. Thus in the passage cited from Tibullus we have, *Tum veniam subito, nec quisquam nuntiet ante, Sed videar coelo missus adesse tibi;* and Liv. XXII. xxix. 3, *Fabiana se acies repente, velut coelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit.*

40. **unde** = *a quo* (scil. *unguentario*). Horace uses *unde* for *a quo* (*abl. agentis*) in i. Sat. vi. 12, and for *ex quo* (with *generatur*) in i. Od. xii. 17.

42. **tibi** = *tuo*, a *dat. commodi*. Cp. Hor. i. Sat. v. 60, where *illi* is very nearly equivalent to *illius*.

43. **vexantur**. See note on i. 126. There is great satiric force in thus depicting the laws as fast asleep and unwilling to be disturbed. Jahn has *at iure*. All the Codd., including P., have *ac iura*, which is far less effective, but, for this very reason, the preferable reading.

44. **Scantinia**. *De nefanda Venere*, mentioned in a letter to Cicero, ad Fam. VIII. xii. § 3; xiv. § 4; see also Suet. Dom. 8; Cic. iii. Phil. vi. § 16; Prudent. Perist. x. 204; Auson. lxxxix. 4. This law, sometimes called Scantinia, was said to have been named after a certain tribune of the plebs, C. Scantinius, who was condemned for that offense (Val. Max. VI. i. 7). This is a suspicious story. Laws were not named in this way by the Romans, but from their proposers. We might suspect the truth to be that the law originated with some Scantinius, and that the story of his own conviction is due to the taste of the public for tales in which somebody is "hoist with his own petar," though Val. Maximus makes no point of this. R. conjectures that the law was carried by and named after P. Scantinius (who was Pontifex, and died B. C. 216), in obedience to the oracle of Delphi (Liv. XXXIII. xi. 3), which had commanded, *lasciviam a vobis prohibetote*. Another view, based on Plut. Marc. 2, and not very different from the story of Maximus, may be seen in Smith's Biogr. Dict., art. *Scantinius*. G. favors a Scantinius Aricinus, quoting Cic. iii. Phil. vi. 15, which he misunderstands.

46. **umbone**. That is, with each man's shield overlapping the shield of his neighbor as far as the boss. *Umbo*, however, sometimes, as in Virg. vii. Aen. 633. stands for the whole shield. V. S. quotes Lucan *quicquid multis peccatur inultum est.*

47. **molles** = *pathici*. Catul. lvii., *pulchre convenit improbis cinaedis* (R.).

erit. See notes on i. 91 and i. 126.

49. **Catullam**. Martial, viii. 53, mentions a very beautiful and very depraved woman of this name. The others are wholly unknown.

50. **subit**. Cp. Hor. i. Sat. ix. 20, 21, *iniquae mentis asellus cum gravius dorso subit onus*, with Juv. ix. 92, *negligit, atque alium sibi quaerit asellum.*

51. **numquid**. The *quid* strengthens the *num*, as in English the addition of "at all." Cp. Hor. i. Sat. iv. 52, 53, *numquid Pomponius istis audiret leviora . . . ?*

52. **fora movemus**. Laronia ignores the cases of Amesia, Afrania, or Calphurnia, and Hortensia, cited by Val. Max. VIII. iii.

53. **colyphia**. Derived by some from κῶλον and ἴφι; probably a cut of beef or other strengthening meat. The context shows that this sort of food was eaten for a specific purpose, which could only be that of training for

athletics. We have here, perhaps, the key to the much-vexed *trechedipna* of iii. 67. *Colyphia*, though not recognized by the Greek lexica, seems to be of Greek origin. Rigaltius has κωλίφια, *pernae*; *Atticis* κωλῆνες, and refers to Phrynicus and to Athen. ix. Salmasius gives καλήπια, κωλῆνες. The word appears as *colliphia*, *colepia*, *caliphia*, *columphia*, in the MSS. both of our author and of Plautus, Persa I. iii. 12. There the context makes it clear that it is something which is eaten cooked (*ne mihi incocta detis*), and the accompanying *collyrae* (Italian paste?) would suggest soup-meat, the Italian *lesso*, though it must be owned that a different interpunction would make this view untenable. Pulmann found in a MS. *panes in similitudinem virilis membri*, a note suggested, I think, by the general tone of this satire. That the *colyphia* were food for athletes appears also from Mart. vii. 66.

54. **trahitis.** One of the usual words for "spinning," though H. will not admit that it means anything but "carding." It is regularly found with *lanam*, *vellera*, *purpuras* (Hor. ii. Od. xviii. 8), *stamina* (Mart. iv. 73), and less specifically with *pensa*, the "stint" weighed out to each maid-servant to be spun into yarn (Prop. III. xi. [IV. 10] 20).

calathis (Greek κάλαθος, pure Latin *qualus*, *quasillus*). Baskets nearly cylindrical, but largest at the top. The *calathus* in the picture of Leda, Mus. Borb. vi. pl. 43, resembles one of our waste-baskets.

peracta. Not the word we should expect with *vellera*, but it must be remembered that *vellera* stands for *pensa*. (See note on i. 13.) Columella, III. x. 7, has *pensum operis sui peragere*.

55. **praegnatem.** Laronia has chosen this epithet with wonderful force. G. quotes Virg. Ciris. 446, *non licuit gravidos penso devolvere fusos*. The *n* in *praegnans* and in the termination of the numeral adverbs (*deciens*, *quotiens*, etc.) must have been something not unlike the Sanskrit *anusvára*. It easily disappears, occasionally, even in some other words, as *infans*, *animans*.

stamine. The warp is named from *stare*, because in the ancient loom (see it illustrated in Rich, Dict. Ant., s. v. *tela*) the warp was "laid" upright, as is still done in Iceland, in the carpet-looms of India, and in the Gobelins tapestry work.

56. **Penelope.** G. derives her name from πήνη (= πηνίον, the thread on the bobbin) + λέπω (λεπάω), "to peel," in allusion to the unwinding of the thread from the bobbin in weaving. Arachne challenged Pallas to a contest in spinning, and, being vanquished, was turned into a spider (Ov. vi. Met. 5).

57. **quale** has for its antecedent the idea of all the preceding sentence. But *opus* may be supplied.

codice. *Anglice*, "clog." Slaves were sometimes chained to a heavy log, which they were compelled to drag or to carry about, and which they would naturally utilize as a seat. Prop. IV. vii. 43, *Nostraque quod Petale tulit ad monumenta coronas Codicis immundi vincula sensit anus*. Cp. Wyatt, Of the Courtier's Life: —

> "And of these newes I fele no weale nor woe;
> Save that a clogge doth hang yet at my hele."

paelex. The condition of a concubine in servitude to her rival was one of great hardship. Her mistress

would torture her for that which her master had compelled her to submit to. Often punished for failing to perform impossible tasks, she would be sure to do her best to give no plausible pretext for maltreatment.

58. **impleverit.** Because he left no room for another legatee, everything being left to the favorite. Cp. i. 68, *exiguis tabulis.*

60. **magno.** A rich man's bed (L.). R., too literally, a large bed, on account of its three occupants. Probus, *teste Valla ad* 58, read *eris* and *dormis*, which agrees very well with the next verse. Four early Lyons editions have this reading.

61. **cylindros.** Gems cut in that shape. Pliny (xxxvii. N. H. xx.), of certain kinds of the beryl, *Indi mire gaudent longitudine eorum . . . ideo cylindros ex iis facere malunt, quam gemmas, quoniam est summa commendatio in longitudine.* He names only the beryl and the chrysoprase as cut in this figure.

63. **censura.** The cognizance of what we especially call "immorality" was the peculiar province of the censor.

columbas. The V. S. *proverbium est corvorum de impudicis. Discrevit sexum per aves. Unde dicunt coire corvos per os, et sic parere.* On this Brit. quotes Mart. xiv. 74. Plin. x. N. H. xv., *Ore eos [corvos] parere aut coire vulgus arbitratur.* On the other hand, the dove was regarded as merely amorous in the natural way. But I cannot help thinking that the pleasant ideas connected with *candidus* and *albus* must have had something to do with the proverb.

64. **canentem.** As it were "prophesying," "giving responses."

65. **stoicidae.** A word coined, not in contempt, as Macl. and Lw. have supposed, but from metrical necessity, since *stoïci* cannot stand in the verse.

66. **multicia.** Scil. *vestimenta.* Cp. infra 76, and xi. 188. This adjective, always applied to clothing, is found, outside of Juvenal, only in very late Latin. From xi. 186 it appears that the *multicia* were worn by ladies, though later (Vopisc. Aurel. 12) we find mention of *tunicas multicias viriles.* That they were womanish garments the context here shows; that they were fine and light appears from verse 70, as also from xi. 186, where they are represented as easily taking creases. Ferrarius, de Re Vestiaria i. 20, regards them as made of silk, against Torrentius, who (ad Hor. i. Sat. ii. 101) would identify them with *vestimenta bombycina.* Again, Almelovenius cites an unedited scholiast, for whom Voss (Etymol. p. 331) is made responsible, *genus est vestis laneae subtili arte contextae. Dicta multicia quod sit multa et inenarrabili arte expressa, qua solummodo uti licitum erat innuptis puellis et viduis matronis.* Others derive the word from *multilicius*, by contraction.

67. **Cretice.** This was the name assumed by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius, after his conquest of Crete in B. C. 67. It stands here as a type of the *haute noblesse* of Rome, as it does in viii. 38.

68. **Proculas.** Possibly the Procula named in iii. 203 as the wife or concubine of Codrus, or Cordus. Of *Pollitta* (Pollinea) we know nothing. A *Fabulla* is mentioned no less than eight times by Martial. From Mart. iv. 9 she would seem to have been the daughter of a physician, or whatever else *clinicus* may mean.

70. **togam.** Women convicted of adultery had to

wear a man's toga, instead of the stola of the Roman matron. See note to i. 62 ; also Hor. i. Sat. ii. 63 and 82 ; Mart. VI. lxiv. 4. The poet says, not that she would not wear a toga, — that she would have to do, — but not such a toga.

71. **Nudus.** Not literally, but like *γυμνός*, without the outer garment ; i. e. in the *χιτών*, or the *tunica*. Cp. Drachenborch ad Liv. III. xxvi. 9, and Rich, Dict. Ant., s. v. *nudus*. It was in this sense alone that the Lacedaemonian girls exercised *γυμναί* (Aristoph. Lysist. 82). In the case of Antonius (ii. Phil. § 86) Cicero speaks of him as addressing the people when almost literally naked, since he was in the costume of a Lupercus.

insania. G. regards it as absurd that anybody should prefer this reading to *infamia*. But the latter, however inviting, is found in but two MSS. (Gothanus ii. and Hamburgensis), neither of them of great authority.

72–74. What would the old Romans have said to such an exhibition ? Cincinnatus, when summoned from the plough to the dictatorship, waited for his toga to be fetched from his house, before he would even listen to the message of the Senate (Liv. III. xxvi. 9).

75. It is a fair question whether the interrogation after **quid** improves the sense.

ista. These that you have on. Pronoun of the 2d person.

75, 76. If you would complain of one of the jury (*iudicem*) whom you are addressing, or even of a witness, for appearing in such a dress, how much more indecorous is it for the prosecutor in such a trial !

77. Rutgersius points out that **acer et indomitus** is the beginning of a verse in Lucan's Pharsalia (i. 146).

libertatis. Straightforwardness of speech was the boast of the Stoics. G. quotes Cic. Parad. v. *ὅτι μόνος ὁ σοφὸς ἐλεύθερος*.

78. **perluces.** Sen. Ep. cxiv., *qui lacernas coloris improbi sumunt, qui perlucentem togam.*

dedit . . . labem. Cic. Cael. xviii. 42, has *labem inferre.* "Bad example led you astray, and will mislead others."

79. **in plures.** *Dare alqd. in alqm.* (for the dat.) is hardly Latin. This should perhaps be taken as an adverbial expression, like *in tantum, in maius, in universum*, etc. In the prayer of the Arval Brethren, also directed against an infection, we read *neve lue (luem) sins (sinas) incurrere in pleores*, which Juvenal may possibly have had in mind.

81. **uvaque**, etc. Evidently a proverbial saying. V. S. has it in the form *Uva uvam videndo varia fit*, which is strong evidence for *conspecta* against Henninius' emendation *compacta*. G. quotes from Suidas, *βότρυς πρὸς βότρυν πεπαίνεται.*

83. **fuit.** Gnomic perfect. The reading *venit* adopted by R. and by H. has no sufficient MS. authority, and is doubtless a learned marginal note based on vii. 29, *ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.*

accipient. Scil. *in suorum numerum. Paullatim* carries on the idea of *nemo repente.*

84. **redimicula.** The strings of the *mitra*, according to Isid. Orig. XIX. xxxi. 5, *redimicula sunt quibus mitra alligatur.* The *mitra* was worn by Bacchus (Prop. IV. ii. 31), by effeminate young men (as P. Clodius

in his youth, Cic. Har. Resp. xxi. 44), by a Persian queen (Cic. iii. Verr. xxxiii. § 76), and by foreign harlots (infra, iii. 66). Festus says, *redimiculum vocant mulieres catellam qua maxime utuntur ornatus causa.* Greek, ἀναδέσματα, καθετῆρες.

85. **monilia.** Necklaces worn properly by women only, or occasionally by boys. Festus (xi. s. v.), *monile et mulierum ornatus dicitur et equorum propendens a collo.* Cp. Virg. Aen. vii. 278. *Qualem habuisse Eriphyllam fabulae ferunt* (Apollod. bk. iii.). The fact that it was propendent distinguished it from the *torques.* See a *monile* in Gargiulo, iii. 10. Grangaeus quotes Ov. Her. ix. 57, Met. x. 264, to which we may add Met. x. 113, all with the *clausula*, "*monilia collo.*"

86, 87. **Bonam Deam.** The *Bona Dea*, the goddess of chastity and fertility, was worshiped by women as the tutelary divinity of their sex. From her rites men were jealously excluded. (See note to verse 27, and cp. vi. 314.) The goddess of fertility was appropriately placated with the *sumen* (the teats) of a sow, a most prolific animal. Fruitfulness was regarded by the early Romans as a wife's chief merit. We often find it attributed to the empresses in the inscriptions of medals struck in their honor, by the letters FEC. AUG.

87. **sinistro.** As it should be the women who exclude the men. *Sinister* means here "perverse," "preposterous." Virgil too has *sinistri mores*, in xi. Aen. 347.

89. **Ite profanae.** A parody on the customary warning at religious ceremonies, "*procul este profani*" (Virg. vi. Aen. 258).

92. **lassare.** That is, with prayers. So Lucan, v. 695. Cp. Hor. i. Od. ii. 26, *prece qua fatigent, Virgines sanctae minus audientem Carmina Vestam;* and ii. Od. xviii. 12, *nil supra Deos lacesso.*

Cotytto. Goddess of licentiousness, a divinity of Thracian origin, whose rites were celebrated in a very lewd manner at Athens (hence *Cecropia*), and especially at Corinth. Horace, Epod. xvii. 57, calls the *Cotyttia sacrum liberi Cupidinis.* Virg. Catalecta v. 19, 20, *non me vocatis pulchra per Cotyttia ad feriatos fascinos.* Her priests were called *Baptae*, a name which H. derives from the rite of baptism practiced at their initiations.

93–95. The Egyptian remains show that not only the eyebrows, but also the inner edge of the eyelids, were painted black, giving the eye a peculiarly soft and voluptuous expression. This practice never died out in the East, and it has been revived to some extent in European countries. The ancients used *stibium* for the pigment. St. Jerome (ad Furiam de Vid.), *non habuit (Magdalena) orbes stibio fuliginatos.* Cp. Tert. de Hab. Mulieb. (de Cultu Fem. i.) cap. 2, *illum nigrum pulverem, quo oculorum exordia* (not the eyebrows, surely) *producuntur.* And again, ib. cap. 4. *oculos fuligine colligunt.* If truth is any canon of interpretation, we must take this to be the meaning, and not the painting of the eyebrows, as some prefer; for in this process a flat and thin wooden instrument covered with soft chamois is dipped in the black paste, and, being inserted between the lids, is slowly drawn from corner to corner. Any one who will try to do this will find that he cannot keep his eyes from quivering (*trementes*), and that they spontaneously turn upward. Hence we should take *oculos* as well as *supercilium* with *pingit*, and supply *eos* with *attollens.*

95. **priapo.** A drinking-vessel in the shape of a *phallus*. This was the emblem of fertility, and was not regarded as obscene any more than the *lingam* in India. It was openly worn as an amulet by married women; and as a charm against the evil eye it is still sold, in a slightly disguised form, in the coral shops of Naples. The point, therefore, in this verse is not the imputation of obscenity, as in the passages of the Christian Fathers where these cups are mentioned, but the reproach that men should appropriate what was peculiarly the fetich of the other sex.

96. **reticulum.** A golden hair-net is worn by a woman, probably a *hetaera*, in a mural painting from Herculaneum, in Mus. Borb. iv. pl. 17; Antichità d' Ercolano, Roma, 1789, i. pl. 14. See also Mus. Borb. iv. pl. 2.

comis ingentibus. Another token of effeminacy, for the Romans used to cut off their hair at the time of taking the *toga virilis*.

97. **scutulata.** A word of uncertain meaning, as it may be derived either from *scutra*, a square platter, or from *scutula*, its diminutive, which may have included round dishes (cp. Italian *scodella*, "soup-plate"), and which also translates the Greek σκυτάλη, a cylinder. In the first case it would suggest checkered stuff, or, as applied to the coat of a horse (Pallad. Martius xiii. 4), probably piebald. In the other case it might mean embroidered with scroll-work; for, in the Vulgate, Ezek. xxvi. 16, *scutulata* (there spoken of as Syrian goods) translates the Hebrew רִקְמָה (*rikmah*), which is derived from רָקַם, "to variegate," "to deck with colors." (Cp. Italian *ricamo*, "embroidery," which comes from

the Arabic رَقَمَ). *Rikmah* is therefore *opus plumarium*. The English version of Ezekiel has "embroidery." The Chaldee Targum (Jerem. xiii. 23), applies the same word *rikmah* to the spots of the leopard or the stripes of the tiger, whichever נמֵר may mean. The sense, therefore, would seem to be Syrian cloth, striped, checked, or spotted sky-blue, or embroidered on a blue ground; this last strongly suggestive of something very like the modern India shawl.

galbina (v. l. *galbana*) **rasa.** Perhaps something like yellow satin. *Galbina* is from *galbus* (Germ. *gelb*, Eng. yellow), which the Gloss. Philox. renders by χλωρός, a greenish yellow or light green. If the reading in Mart. XIII. lxviii. 1 is not rather *galbula*, it is the name of a bird also called *icterus*, which is probably the yellow-bird (canary?). Mart. I. xcvii. 9 seems also to ascribe this color to the robes of the *molles*, but the reading is not sure. *Rasa*, from *rado*, means "shorn of the pile," a process which produced the *tomentum*, or stuffing for beds (Mart. xiv. 159). *Raso*, in Italian, means "satin," which, however, is not now shorn, but produced by a peculiar manner of weaving which leaves nine tenths of the weft on the surface.

98. **Iunonem.** As every man had a tutelar divinity called a *Genius*, a mortal god born with him, dying with his death, and sharing his pains and pleasures on earth, while at the same time exercising some of the functions of a guardian angel, so every woman had a similar familiar spirit called a *Iuno*. The effeminate men aped womankind even in this particular. It is probable that the *Genius*, or *Iuno*, was vaguely identified with the man or woman to whom it belonged, and after death

with the *Dii Manes*. In ancient art these divinities are represented by winged male or female figures, which attend their protégés (Mus. Borb. v. pl. 53; Baumeister, I. 309, fig. 324). It was customary to swear and adjure by the genius of the master, as here, or of the emperor (Suet. Cal. 27), or of the person adjured (Hor. i. Ep. vii. 94).

99. **pathici**. Suetonius (Otho 12) tells us much of Otho's effeminacy, his depilatory processes, the bread-poultices which preserved his complexion, and the rest. Martial, vi. 32, calls him *Otho mollis*. In spite of even more degrading habits, he was brave to a fault, and had so won the affection of his soldiers that some of them killed themselves for grief at his death. Cp. Tac. ii. H. xi.

gestamen. Often used of the accoutrements of warriors, Virg. iii. Aen. 286, *clipeum magni gestamen Abantis;* vii. 246, of Priam's sceptre, *hoc Priami gestamen erat*. Used here satirically, as *sarcina* is in 103.

100. **Actoris Aurunci** In parody of Virg. xii. Aen. 94, where, as here, *spolium* is a single object, not "spoils" in general.

104. **occidere Galbam**. See the story in Suet. Otho 6. When his conspiracy was ripe, he stole away from Galba, who was sacrificing to the gods, and went privately, in a woman's chair, to the camp of the Praetorian guards, who saluted him "Emperor." Thence he sent soldiers to put Galba and Piso to death.

106. **Bebriaci**. In northern Italy, between Verona and Cremona. The name is uncertain. Some MSS., both of Suetonius and of Tacitus, call it *Bedriacum* and *Betriacum*. It was there that Vitellius defeated Otho

by fraud (as Suetonius declares). V. S. has *Bebriaci*, i. e. *pontici, unde pelles bebrinae*, a warning to those who swear by these anonymous commentators.

spolium. This, if not an error of the copyist, caused by the *spolium* in verse 100, stands for the more usual plural. We should perhaps read *solium*, and account for the error in the same way.

107. **panem**. See 99 n. The bread-poultice served to destroy the beard as well as to beautify the complexion.

108. **pharetrata**. H. takes this with *fecit*, which no doubt marks the analogy between Otho and Semiramis. But if we take this adjective predicatively, I do not see how we can escape the necessity of so taking *maesta*, which would spoil the allusion to Cleopatra by suggesting a very good reason why she should neglect her person. These two queens are chosen as examples of extraordinary impurity combined with more than virile energy.

109. **maesta**. H. thinks that the monks, to whom he constantly attributes such doings, wrote *maesta* for *moecha;* but really, if this satire were to be expurgated, this would be too ridiculous a beginning. H. does not see that a damaging epithet would be unartistic in this place.

110 seqq. An awkward transition, which suggests that 93–109 were not originally part of this satire. Ribbeck, as might be expected, revels in orgies of rearrangement, in this part of the poem.

mensae. Dative. The poet means that the banquets celebrated by these *pathici* in connection with their preposterous cult of the *Bona Dea* were disgraced by every sort of impurity.

111. Construe, *hic turpis libertas loquendi et (etiam) fracta voce Cybeles* (i. e. *Galli*). H.'s *libertas Cybeles loquendi* gives *libertas* two *epitheta*, a fault in the eyes of the poets of this age, and does not make as good sense. Macl. questions the reading, but does not suggest the remedy. I believe the true reading to be *turpi . . . et fracta voce*, which exactly describes the cracked voice of these Galli, the priests of Cybele, who were eunuchs. It is notorious that castration partly prevents the change of voice which boys experience at puberty, leaving the timbre broken and strangely shrill.

112. **fanaticus.** The old priest affects to be inspired by the goddess. So Veiento, in Sat. iv. 123, 124, at the sight of the huge turbot, breaks forth into prophecy, *ut fanaticus oestro percussus, Bellona, tuo.* (Cp. Liv. XXXVII. ix. 9; XXXVIII. xviii. 9.) *Fanaticus* properly means one attached to the service of a *fanum;* but long before Juvenal it had begun to be used in the sense suggested above. It never has the English sense of "bigot."

113, 114. **magni gutturis.** The interpreters take *magni gutturis* to mean "an immense appetite,"— which does not seem to me germane to the subject. I incline to take it in the sense of "a famous voice;" i. e. one so typically effeminate that the fellow was in demand among these unsexed beings as a hired (*conducendus*) teacher of that mode of speech.

115, 116. **Phrygio more.** Because Cybele was a Phrygian goddess. It was during the quaestorship of Cato the elder, B. C. 204, that her rites were introduced into Rome, where she was known as *Ops* and *Magna Mater*. Her festival was on the 4th of April (Liv. XXIX. xiv.; Ov. iv. F. 180–182).

116. That is, to be castrated in the flesh, as they were already in the spirit. Note the use of *erat* for *esset*, so common in this turn, when speaking of what ought to have happened long ago. So Hor. i. Od. xxxvii. 4.

117. **dedit dotem.** According to Ulpian, *dos datur, aut dicitur* (cp. Mart. XII. xlii. 5) *aut promittitur. Dedit* is usually said of the father or guardian: in vi. 137, as here, of the bride, (*Censennia*) *bis quingena dedit*, without *dotem* (Lw.). The Emperor Nero figured in such mock-marriages, sometimes as groom and sometimes as bride. He was husband to Sporus and wife to Pythagoras (Tac. xv. An. xxxvii.). Suetonius gives Doryphorus for the latter, but Dio (Xiphilin), lxii. 28, confirms Tacitus, [παῖδα Σπόρον] ἔγημεν, καίπερ Πυθαγόρᾳ τινι ἐξελευθέρῳ γεγαμημένος.

Gracchus. See note on 143, infra.

118. **sive hic.** etc. *Tŭbĭcĭnī* cannot stand in the verse. Hence the paraphrase.

119. **tabulae.** Scil. *nuptiales, dotales*, and in very late Latin (Firm. Math. vii. 17) *matrimoniales*, the marriage contract, which was not absolutely necessary (Quint. Inst. V. xi. 32), but usual.

feliciter. A set form of congratulation. Brit. quotes Suet. Dom. 13. (*In reducenda post divortium uxore*) *acclamari etiam in amphitheatro, epulari die audiit libenter: Domino et Dominae feliciter!*

120. **sedet.** H., following G. and L., thinks that *cena* here means the guests, and, as the Roman men reclined at table, he explains that these guests were seated in imitation of the old custom that ladies should sit while the men reclined. But that ancient custom had passed away long before Juvenal wrote, as may be seen — to say

nothing of *iacuit*, in this verse, which would certainly least belong to the man who was most playing woman — from such passages as Ov. i. Am. iv. 16, where *accumbas* is spoken of the woman. What Ovid mentions in verses 35, 36, 41, 42, 44–50, would be impossible, if she were sitting at table, while her husband reclined. The Pompeian paintings where women are represented as seated at table are doubtless Greek subjects. Lipsius would have read *cena sed et*.

iacuit. On the beds of the *triclinium*, the legs of the first guest were behind the body of his right-hand neighbor, the position which children graphically describe as lying "spoon-fashion." In this position, each might be said to lie in the lap or bosom of the person on his left. Cp. John xiii. 23, where ἀνακείμενος ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ answers literally to *iacere in gremio*.

121. The *censor* was the judge of morals; the *haruspex* was called upon to devise expiations, when some dreadful portent threatened the state. When, for example, it rained stones in the Alban mount, the *haruspices* ordered a *neuvaine* (*novendiale sacrum*, Liv. I. xxxi., whence perhaps our "nine days' wonder"). A more terrible portent does Juvenal see in the unspeakable wickedness which he is describing.

123. The prodigies here named are not more remarkable than those which are thickly scattered over the pages of Livy and Suetonius, and were accepted by the credulous faith of that age. In Sat. xiii. 64–70 our poet names other prodigies, — a baby with two bodies, fish turned up by the plough, a foaling mule, rivers running milk, etc.

124. segmenta. Ovid, A. A. iii. 169, classes these

with Tyrian purple and other costly articles of dress. In Val. Max. V. ii. 1 the Senate grants to the mother of Coriolanus *purpurea veste et aureis uti segmentis*, which Kapp and Oliver wrongly interpret as *redimicula*. Sidon. Apoll., viii. Ep. vi., calls them *crepitantia*, and mentions with them Tyrian purple and embroidery. In Sat. vi. 89 they are found ornamenting a cradle. Servius, commenting on the word *monile*, ad Aen. i. 654, *ornamentum gutturis, quod et segmentum dicunt, ut Juvenalis* (this passage) "*segmenta et longos habitus.*" *Licet segmentatas vestes* (bedclothes) *dicamus ut ipse* [vi. Sat. 89], "*et segmentatis dormisset parvula cunis.*" From all which we may infer that *segmenta* means "fringe," as the etymology would suggest, and that certain *monilia*, ornamented with fringe-like pendants, like those figured in Mus. Borb. i. pl. 40, were also called "fringes."

flammea. A flame-colored veil worn by brides. The word is spelled with one *m* or two, according to the derivation adopted, from *flamen* or from *flamma*. Those who derive it from *flamma* regard the color as intended to hide the blushes of the bride. Others, with more plausibility, call attention to the fact that this was the customary head-dress of the *flaminica*, the wife of the *flamen Dialis*, and that it was worn by brides as an omen of good, because the *flaminica* could not be divorced. In her case the color was chosen as sacred to Jupiter Tonans, i. e. as the color of the lightning.

125. sacra . . . nutantia. That is, the *ancilia* (see next note), which, suspended with their fronts outward from a pole carried by two *Salii* (see Rich, Dict. Ant. s. v. from a medal of Augustus), concealed the thongs (*lora*) by which they were hung. While thus carried, the

shields would sway about. That this is the meaning of *nutantia* is clear from Juvenal's use of the word in other passages: as in vi. 410, of a city undermined by a flood; in xv. 156, of a wounded man swaying and about to fall; in iii. 256, of tall trees whipping about with the jolting of the wain that carries them. The processional bearing forth of the sacred shields was called *ancilia movere*, and took place on the day sacred to Mars, March 1 (Ov. iii. F. 259 seq.).

126. **ancilibus.** (Originally an adjective, as here and in Val. Max. I. i. 9.) Twelve shields, one of which had fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa, and was regarded as a talisman to which the safety of Rome was closely bound. To avert the danger that it might be stolen, the eleven others were made so precisely similar that Mars himself could not have told the difference. Ovid, iii. F. 377, derives the name from the shape, which was nearly that of a figure eight (8), *quod ab omni parte recisum est; Quaque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest.* Varro also derives it from *an* (*amphi*) and *cido* (*caedo*).

pater urbis. Romulus, worshiped as Quirinus, — a name also given to Mars, whence no little confusion. B. and G. are wrong, I think, in taking this to mean Mars. By three steps the poet leads us from the indignant appeal to Romulus, by Mars, up to the supreme tribunal of Jove himself. I have little doubt that he had Persius' *Romule ceres* (i. 87) in mind. This whole satire is inspired by Persius' first.

128. **Gradive.** Mars, to whom, as the father of Romulus, the Romans referred their origin.

urtica. Generally regarded as standing for "lust." As lust was compared to an itching (cp. Eng. "pruriency"), it is called by the name of the stinging nettle. The use of the nettle as an aphrodisiac is alluded to in Sat. xi. 166, where certain lascivious dances are called *divitis urticae*. The method, or one method, of its application is described by Petronius, 138 (Buecheler). I cannot help suspecting a proverbial use analogous to the French "Quelle mouche vous pique?" If *urtica tangi* was a phrase, it might still be selected by the poet on account of its prurient associations.

129. **traditur.** So Tac. iv. An. 40, *Augustus filiam suam equiti Romano tradere meditatus est.*

130. **galeam quassas**, etc. By shaking his head in anger. The *galea* was a leather helmet. Ovid, iii. F. 2, gives Mars the *cassis*, or metal casque. H. would read *gerram* for *terram*. In Greek γέρρον means "a shield," and H. makes Mars clash shield and spear together, quite like an ancient German. Unfortunately, *gerra* is not Latin, save in the plural, when it means "nonsense." If Juvenal had been borrowing a Greek word, which he, of all men the most Roman, never does, except in scorn, he would not have made a Latin feminine singular out of a Greek neuter plural.

131. **patri.** That is, *Iovi*. A rare construction of *queror*, which is usually followed by *cum*, *apud*, or *ad*. This is a case of substituted syntax (i. 13 n.), *queror* standing for *dico*, or implying it, just as *loqui* is implied in the construction with *cum*.

vade. Used by the poets in the sense of an imposing, threatening, or otherwise impressive advance. It seems to have been used, even in Cicero's day, for *eo* in familiar discourse (ad Att. iv. 10; xiv. 12). Cp. our familiar "to march off," "to proceed," as used more or

less in banter. *Vado* remains the regular word in Italian for "to go." Cp. Vulgate, Matt. iv. 10, where *vade* translates ὕπαγε.

132. **campi.** Scil. *Martii*. Cp. Hor. i. Od. viii. 4.

quem neglegis. So Hor. i. Od. ii. 35, 36, *sive* neglectum *genus et nepotes Respicis auctor*.

officium. As often elsewhere, of a "social duty," which was the only duty generally observed in the Rome of the Empire. Juvenal has the word nine times, and not once in the old Ciceronian sense. In Persius, who has it twice, it retains the old meaning. Thus the language itself records the fearful demoralization of Rome during the first century of our era.

133. **valle Quirini.** Bentley (ad Hor. i. Od. ii. 46) seems to have read this *in colle Quirini*, probably one of his conjectures, since I know no such v. l. in the MSS. According to Burgess, Topog. of Rome, this valley divided the Viminal from the Quirinal, and I am inclined to believe that the place is chosen for the sake of the contrast afforded by the heroic name. The V. S. seems to imply the same when he says *ad invidiam dixit*. But it was a fashionable quarter. There stood the temple and grove of Quirinus, and, according to Sterbini (Plan Iconographique de Rome Ancienne, 1843), the houses of Propertius, Pliny the younger, and Crassus Dives were in the immediate neighborhood.

134. **Quid quaeris?** An apologetic question, still idiomatic in the Romance languages and in German. It is often accompanied by a significant shrug of the shoulders.

nubit. This word, applicable only to the bride, tells the whole story.

135. **adhibet.** As in Sat. v. 16, *neglectum adhibere clientem = vocare*, "to invite." He has a very select party, in deference to public opinion. Contrast this with the *fient palam* (136), a prophecy of the near future.

liceat, etc. It is a mere question of time when these things will be done openly.

136. **acta.** The *acta publica* (*acta senatus*, *acta diurna*) were records — generally made public, after the example set by Julius Caesar, who *primus omnium instituit, ut tam Senatus, quam populi diurna acta confierent et publicarentur* (Suet. Jul. 20), but sometimes kept secret (Suet. Oct. 36) — of the doings of the Senate, the decrees of the people, and of marriages, births (Sat. ix. 84), and other occurrences in high life. When made public, they were copied by persons who made this their business, and read to their customers (*acta legenti*, in Sat. vii. 104). They were regularly sent to public officers in the provinces (Cic. ad Div. xii. 9). In this way they answered pretty nearly to our idea of an official gazette.

138. **partu**, etc. Which their sex forbade. The birth of offspring confirmed a marriage not only by the bond of a common interest, but also by the fact that, when a wife died leaving children, the husband was entitled to retain one fifth of the wife's dower for each child, even though her father survived her. (Ramsay, Man. Rom. Ant. 254. See also the *ius trium liberorum* in the manuals.)

139, 140. It is a blessing, says the poet, that nature denies their wishes (*animis*) any effect on their bodies, else would they even bear offspring from these unnatural alliances.

141. condīta. "Medicated." He means some preparation supposed to cure sterility.

pyxide. A small box, especially for spiceries. (Cp. Cic. Cael. xxv. § 61, *pyx veneni*.)

Lyde. Probably a personal, possibly a patrial name after the Greek Λυδή. Nothing is known of her except from this passage, where she appears as a charlatan who pretended to cure sterility. It is claimed that Ovid (ii. A. A. 661) uses *turgida* for *praegnans*. If so, we might regard it as used here by metonymy, with reference to her supposed skill. But I doubt the rendering of that passage, where the context seems to require that *turgida* should mean some permanent quality, i. e. "fat." Cp. Statius, i. Sil. vi. 70, *hoc plaudunt grege Lydiae tumentes*, which Autumnus quotes on our passage. Brit. has a curious explanation of the whole passage, in which the swollen Lydian is the spider (Arachne was of that country) inclosed in a drugged box and worn as a cure for barrenness, the animal being extremely prolific. See Plin. XI. xxix., where, however, the reading is rather uncertain.

142. Luperco. At the feast of the *Lupercalia*, youths and men, naked or lightly clad, called *luperci*, ran about the streets of Rome with whips in their hands. Women desirous of offspring thought that they could secure it by offering their hands to be whipped by them as they went by (Cic. ii. Phil. xxxiv. § 86; Ov. ii. F. 425–428).

143–148. These verses seem strangely out of place; for if the reference is to the Gracchus of 117, they weaken what has gone before by showing that he was not too effeminate to expose his life in the arena; and

if Gracchus merely stands for any nobleman, it is hard to see what these lines have to do with the subject of this satire. In any case, they ruin the admirable passage that follows (149–159) by diverting it from the horrors related in the earlier part of the satire to the much less horrible degradation of the arena. I believe the verses to have been originally written to stand for 200–210 in Sat. viii., and to have been transferred here more thriftily than wisely, either by Juvenal or by some early editor. Our poet, as I conceive, frequently made up his satires from scattered memoranda in verse. (See Introd. to Satire I.) That these verses are borrowed, and not an original part of the poem, also appears likely when we consider that if *Gracchus* is a mere name for any noble, as is generally held, it is incredible that the same name should have been used in the same satire to represent two so different forms of infamy. Were there not plenty of other noble names at the poet's disposal? Has he not used others? But in different satires Gracchus might well represent different vices. My inference from this is that the verses were rejected from Sat. viii., and that this satire is, or at any rate these verses are, consequently posterior in composition to that satire. Ribbeck rejects the passage altogether. I have retained it in view of the habit of our poet spoken of above, and I think that *vicit* does not mean that the fault of fighting in the arena is greater than the crimes spoken of before, but that the impudence of this public display had never been equaled, — a point also more fully worked out in viii. 200–206.

143. Gracchi. That noblemen fought in the arena in the reign of Domitian is known to us from the historians

as well as from our author. (Cp. Dio Cassius, lvii. 14, lix. 10, lxxii. 19.) Some later emperors did this themselves: Didius Julianus (Hist. Aug. Did. ix.) not without reproach, Commodus (ib. Comm. xi.) even in the dress of an Amazon, and fulfilling to the letter the prediction of Juvenal as to other excesses, *cupient et in acta referri*. Gracchus appears in the costume of a *retiarius*, who personated a fisherman bent on catching the fish which his opponent (usually a *Gallus*, i. e. a gladiator armed like a Gaul) wore on his crest. For this purpose he carried a casting-net, which he endeavored to throw over the head of his adversary, and a fish-spear (a trident) called *fuscina* (from which the French *fouine* in the same sense). As a fisherman he was clothed in a mere tunic. (Cp. Sat. iv. 49, where a fisherman is spoken of as *remex nudus;* and see note on verse 71.) After failing in his cast, the *retiarius*, being defenseless, was forced to take to flight while gathering up his net for a new cast. This is the meaning of *lustravit fuga*, the verb carrying the sense of going through every part of a place, as was done in the *lustratio*, or purification of the fields, etc. Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 2101, fig. 2352.

145. Jahn brackets all between *et Marcellis* and *minoribus*, making one verse out of the two. H. retains both, but with *Catulis* and *Paulli*. Calderinus reads *Paullis*, and conjectures that there were two branches of Paulli, the *maiores*, whose ancestor fell at Cannae, and the *minores*, descended from the conqueror of Perseus. As the latter was the son of the former, it is not easy to see how they can make two branches in the absence of any elder brother to Macedonicus.

Capitolinis. Suet. Galba 2, *Galba . . . haud dubie nobilissimus, magna et vetere prosapia: ut qui statuarum titulis* PRONEPOTEM Q. CATULI CAPITOLINI *semper adscripserit.*

Marcellis. A cognomen of the plebeian Claudii. Of this family was M. Claudius Marcellus, who in B. C. 222 took the *spolia opima* from an Insubrian king, and who took Syracuse in the second Punic war. Another Marcellus was the subject of Virgil's pathetic verses, Aen. vi. 861–887. No Claudian Marcellus appears in the consular *fasti* after B. C. 22.

146. **Catulis.** A cognomen of the plebeian gens Lutatia, which furnished several consuls between B. C. 242, when C. Lutatius Catulus defeated Hanno off the Aegates, thereby ending the first Punic war, and B. C. 78, when Quintus of that name suppressed the popular revolution, of which M. Aemilius Lepidus was the leader. To the reading *Catuli* it may well be objected that these have already been named in the Capitolini. (See note on 145.)

Pauli (*Paulli, Paullis*). A cognomen chiefly of the gens Aemilia. Lucius defeated Perseus at Pydna, B. C. 168. Marcus, who died nobly at Cannae, B. C. 216, is the Paullus *animae magnae prodigus* of Hor. i. Od. xii. 38.

Fabiis. The gens Fabia was patrician, and probably of Sabine origin. It furnished no less than seven consuls between 485 and 479 B. C. Kaeso Fabius, in his third consulship (B. C. 479), declared for the plebs, and joined that order with his entire clan. They left Rome in a body to fight the Veientes, and were all destroyed at the river Cremera, with the exception of one child

who was left in the city, and was the ancestor of Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, the great adversary and true conqueror of Hannibal.

147. **ad podium.** *Podium* (properly the parapet surrounding the arena, whence the use of *ad*) means the front row of seats in the amphitheatre, or circus, reserved for the most distinguished spectators. At some time during the Empire it was probably specifically applied to that part where a higher structure, like the royal box in a European theatre, was raised for the accommodation of the imperial party. In the Coliseum this is just over the main entrance.

licet. See note to i. 163.

148. **admoveas** = *addas, adnumeres.*

cuius munere. "At whose games." The Emperor Domitian is probably intended. *Munus* (= *moenus*, root *mi*, according to Vaniček) has the original meaning of founding, or building. The development of this interesting word seems to be nearly as follows: 1st, what is built (only in the plural, *moenia*), the city walls as the most important, — *munio*, "to fortify," "to build roads," etc.; 2d (plur. *munera*), civic duty, so named after that most burdensome duty of wall-building, and including public office; 3d (plur. *munia*, cp. *munia comparis* in Hor. ii. Od. v. 2), any duty to others; 4th (plur. *munera*, gifts), the duty of giving to friends; 5th (with a recurrence to 2d, plur. *munera*), the gift or largess of a magistrate, in the form of games, etc.

149–152. These verses show the decay of the ancient faith at the time when Christianity came to supply a purer. It is told of Vespasian (Suet. Vesp. 23) that when he felt the approach of death he derided the popular superstition that deified the deceased emperors by exclaiming, "*Ut puto deus fio.*"

149. **aliquos.** Prop. IV. vii. 1, *Sunt aliquid Manes, letum non omnia finit. Aliquos* (from *aliqui*, not *aliquis*) is stronger than if the poet had merely said *esse Manes.* It is here equivalent to *qualescumque*, "some sort of Manes." Cp. Ter. And. 883, 884, *animum induxti tuom, quod cuperes aliquo pacto efficiundum tibi*, where Donatus makes *aliquo pacto* = *quoquo modo.* Horace has *fabulaeque Manes, et domus exilis Plutonia*, i. Od. iv. 16.

150. **Cocytum.** I prefer the reading *et contum*, which is that of almost all the MSS., including P. It is a reminiscence of Virg. vi. Aen. 302, *Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat*, which was familiar to every Roman schoolboy.

151. **milia.** Scil. *umbrarum.* Disembodied spirits, having no weight, could be crowded into Charon's boat to its utmost capacity. See Dante, Inferno iii. 93.

152. **nec.** The later writers, from Livy and Ovid down, says Madvig (Gr. § 457, Obs.), use *nec* for *ne quidem.* So in Sat. iii. 90, 91, *qua deterius nec Ille sonat, quo mordetur gallina marito.* See also Quint. Inst. V. x. 119, *alioqui nec tradidissem.*

nondum aere lavantur. It is not certain whether the reference is to children too young to use the public baths at all, or, as the V. S. has it, to a custom of allowing those under a certain age to bathe gratis. Becker (Gallus, Exc. i. to Scene vii.) was at first of the latter opinion, but changed to the former, agreeing with the views of Seyffert (Lex. der Altertumskunde, art. *Bäder*) and Rich (in Smith's Dict. of Class. Ant., *Balineae*).

154. **Scipiadae.** *Metri gratia* for *Scīpīōnēs*. See verse 65, and Lucretius' use of *Memmiadae* for *Mēmmĭō;* i. e. the two Scipiones Africani, and perhaps the two who perished in Spain in the second Punic war.

Fabricius. C. Fabricius Luscinus, the famous antagonist of Pyrrhus, B. C. 278.

Camilli. M. Furius Camillus, the hero of the early part of the fourth century B. C., to whom Rome owed her second birth after her destruction by the Gauls. His history is tinged with myth, but enough of it is certain to make him one of Rome's greatest men.

155. **Cremerae, Cannis.** See notes on verse 146.

157. **lustrari.** In order to purification, after such defilement. The *lustratio* was performed by sprinkling and by fumigating with certain substances while walking around the place or thing to be cleansed. In sprinkling, a branch of laurel (*laurus uda*, Ov. v. F. 677) or of olive was used, or a sprinkler similar to what is known in the Roman Church as an *aspergillum* (Greek, περιῤῥαντήριον; but see Baumeister, p. 758), which has no name in classical Latin, although the article is shown in works of art, especially on medals. See it illustrated in Rich, Dict. Ant. s. v. *aspersio*.

158. **sulpura.** This use of sulphur and of water is mentioned by Homer, Il. xvi. 228, where Achilles purifies his private drinking-cup for a libation to Zeus: —

> Τό ῥα τότ' ἐκ χηλοῖο λαβὼν ἐκάθηρε θείῳ
> Πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ νίψ' ὕδατος καλῇσι ῥοῇσι.

So, in the Odyssey, xxii. 481, Odysseus purifies the house polluted by the suitors. He bids Euryclea, —

> Οἶσε θέειον, γρηῦ, κακῶν ἄκος, οἶσε δέ μοι πῦρ,
> Ὄφρα θεειώσω μέγαρον.

See ib. 493; Ov. iv. F. 739; ii. A. A. 330; Tibul. I. v. 11. The word θεῖον is probably derived, according to Liddell & Scott, from θεῖος, "divine."

foret. The forms *forem*, *fores*, *foret*, *forent*, for *essem*, etc., seem to occur in Juvenal only six times, beside this verse, viz., iv. 48, 140; x. 75, 103, 263; xii. 30. In Persius only in one place (*forent*), v. 107. Horace only uses *foret*, but has this at least twelve times, and nine of these in the satires and epistles.

159. **illic.** The reading *illuc*, without the period, adopted by Macl. and others on the theory that *traducimur* cannot be translated without *illuc*, leaves *quidem* a yet greater difficulty, since *quidem* must introduce an objection which the clause with *sed* is to answer, and it is hard to find any sufficient connection between the conquests of Rome and the truism that we are all bound for another world. With Ribbeck's and Jahn's reading the connection is clear, if we translate *traducimur* "to become a laughing-stock," which is also the meaning of the word in viii. 17, where the degenerate descendant *squalentes traducit auos*.

159, 160. **arma . . . promovimus.** To the brief notice of the conquest of the Orcades by Agricola, A. D. 84, Tacitus (Ag. x.) adds, *dispecta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems appetebat*. As this was the only land placed by the Roman geographers beyond the Orcades, it is probable that Juvenal refers to that expedition. The allusion to the brief night of that region, which Tacitus (Ag. xii.) also mentions, makes it probable that Juvenal wrote these lines soon (cp. *modo*, 160) after reading the Agricola. Now this was certainly not published before the first year of Trajan, A. D. 98 (see

Ag. xliv.), probably not before his entry into Rome in the year 99, or even as late as 100. See Ag. iii., where all points to the beginning of Trajan's reign. To the year 100, then, we may plausibly assign the publication of this satire.

160. **Iubernae.** Macl. in this place reproduces what I believe to be a mistake of Gibbon's, who makes Tacitus say that Agricola told him that Ireland could be conquered with one legion and a few auxiliaries, whereas in that passage of the Agricola (ch. xxiv.), *Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat . . . saepe ex eo audivi*, etc., the pronoun *eo* grammatically refers to *unum e regulis*, who is only named at all in order to be thus referred to. It was from this exiled chieftain, then, that Tacitus heard such a report. He, like other exiled monarchs, would naturally belittle the difficulties of a restoration in return for which he was ready to sell the independence of his country. Tacitus may or may not have visited Britain, but he may easily have met the exile in Rome. It is incredible that, if Agricola had really believed that so large a province could be added to the Empire so easily, he would have failed to invade Ireland as he invaded Mona.

162. Roman moralists justly ascribed the wonderful growth of the Roman power to the severe morals of the early republic. They foresaw that if Rome should lose this advantage she would cease to be victorious, and they deprecated the introduction of foreign vices. In Juvenal's day this was already an accomplished fact. *Iampridem*, complains Umbricius, in iii. 62, *Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes ;* and so thoroughly was this the

case that Juvenal speaks here of the Eastern youths as finding in Rome that corruption which had so long been the reproach of the East.

164. **cunctis ephebis.** Abl. with the comparative *mollior* (Macl.).

165. **sese indulsisse** = *copiam sui fecisse.*

tribuno. Very probably the emperor. The Roman emperors reckoned the years of their reigns by those of their *tribunicia potestas.* It also appears that young boys of royal and princely families were often trained in the emperor's palace ; and Suetonius tells us that Caligula was murdered in a crypt of his own palace (the situation of which I once had the honor and pleasure to have pointed out to me by that distinguished archæologist, Rodolfo Lanciani), while the emperor was speaking to certain *pueri nobiles ex Asia ad edendas in scena operas evocati* (Suet. Cal. 58). See ib. 36, where Caligula is said *quosdam obsides dilexisse* ; for, as Brit. saw, we cannot refer *dilexisse* to Mnester, the whole context forbidding.

166. **obses.** Armenia was finally conquered by Germanicus, A. D. 18, but was often temporarily reoccupied by the Parthians, and was never completely a part of the Empire. In these circumstances there would often be Armenian hostages at Rome. History is silent as to this particular youth.

167. **homines.** There is no example of *homo* used as a contrast to *puer.* It is not easy to see why it should be a more objectionable use in Latin than in many modern languages, where the word corresponding to *homo* is also used to signify a full-grown man as opposed to a boy. But whether this be or be not ad-

mitted, the same idea is involved in *fiunt*, if it has the young Armenians for its subject. Macl., who translates "it is here that men are fashioned," seems to take *homines* as the subject; but one may ask, Where are not men fashioned? What point is there in such an assertion?

longior. Comparative of considerable degree.

168. **indulsit.** More strictly the fut. perf. is called for. Jahn has a comma after this word, but *indulgeo* in the silver age rejoices in the construction of the dat. pers. et acc. rei (Draeg. Hist. Synt. i. p. 404).

169. **mittentur.** "Will be discarded." H.'s explanation that the *bracae* were sent to the boys as gifts (at Rome!) to corrupt their morals hardly seems to call for serious refutation.

bracae. Not the *θύλακοι* of the northern nations, Tacitus' *bracae, tegmen barbarum* (Tac. ii. Hist. xx.; cp. Ov. v. T. vii. 49), but the *αναξυρίδες* of the Persians, still the Armenian costume, of which St. Jerome says *quibus verenda teguntur*.

cultelli = *μάχαιρα, ἀκινάκης*.

170. **praetextatos.** That is, of the Roman boys, the *toga praetexta* being their dress up to the age when they assumed the *toga virilis*. This makes a much finer contrast between Rome and the East than to take this adjective, as G. and Macl. have taken it, in the sense in which we speak of *verba praetextata*, which, it should be remembered, were so called only because the loose verses sung at weddings were delivered by bands of little boys.

Artaxata. In Latin both a fem. sing. and a neut. plur. The ancient capital of Armenia, and by some

identified with Tiflis. The translation "Artaxata recalls [see i. 66] the morals of the Roman boy," although worthy of attention, seems to me less good than the rendering "they carry back to Artaxata the morals," etc.

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